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LIEUT. COLONEL JOSEPH BARTON, LOYALIST OF SUSSEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

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The author of this article is a descendant in the sixth generation, through his paternal grandmother, of Lieutenant Colonel Barton and his interest in the subject was at first genealogical. He has written an article for the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* on the Barton family, beginning with the immigrant ancestor, Roger Barton, (1628-1688) of Fordham Manor, New York, and including the first six generations of his descendants. Dr. McCracken, a native of Dunmore, Pa., holds three degrees from Princeton University, and has been a teacher of the classics at Lafayette College, Grove City College, and Susquehanna University, and since 1946 at Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. In addition, he has contributed widely to academic journals in his field.

Of the Americans who sided with the British Crown during the Revolution none had so interesting, so varied, or so tragic a career, or is better attested in the extant records, as Joseph Barton of Sussex County, landowner, manufacturer, legislator, and soldier.

He was, by his own testimony given in 1786,* born in

*See below. Manuscript material on Joseph Barton's career, cited below, is now preserved in the Public Records Office, London, examined for me by Dr. Robert H. Super, of the University of Michigan; in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, which now owns documents formerly in the Royal Institution of Great Britain; and in Loyalist Transcripts in the New York Public Library. The papers of the late Adolph Law Voge, now in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, while helpful on other Bartons, do not contain much that was new to me on Colonel Barton except the East Jersey records as cited. Mrs. Dorothy S. Bishop of Digby, Nova Scotia, did research in the records of that province. Miss Phyllis Mander Jones, Librarian of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia, was helpful in running down Sir Edmund Barton's ancestry.

America, and from the fact that on 25 October 1783 he gave his age as 53, we may place his birth in the year 1730 or in the closing months of the preceding. No record of his birth has been found, and it is not possible to identify his parents with complete certainty. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that he was the eldest son of Benjamin[3] (Joseph[2], Roger[1]) Barton and of his wife Abigail, whose maiden name has not been recorded. This Benjamin is mentioned in his father's will dated 20 April 1762, without a bequest to him, which surely indicates that he was already dead, especially in view of the bequest of ten shillings given to his son Joseph, "In lue of his Berth Rite." Therefore, Benjamin was a son of Joseph[2] Barton's first wife Rachel, maiden name also unknown. Of Benjamin and Abigail nothing else is known save that they are the grantors of a Goshen deed (B-395) dated 22 January 1727/8, recorded 29 October 1734, which places them in an area close to where we later find their son, the subject of this sketch.

The late Adolph Law Voge, who made extensive investigations into the history of the Barton family, was from time to time of the opinion, as has been the compiler of this sketch, that Lieutenant Colonel Barton should be identified with Benjamin's brother Joseph[3] Barton. While this solution to the problem is exceedingly attractive, there are conclusive objections to it. Joseph[3] Barton is mentioned as the third surviving son of his father in the will of 20 April 1762 but without other information concerning him. On 5 September 1743 he witnessed the will of his brother or half-brother Thomas[3] Barton of Rye, so his birth must be placed not later than 1722. On 14 June 1744, when of Horseneck, near Greenwich, Connecticut, he was enrolled as a private in the Connecticut Militia for service in King George's War (1744-48), and, for all we know to the contrary, participated in the victorious but bloody attack on the French position at Louisburg from 29 April to 16 June 1745 under the command of Colonel (later Lieutenant General Sir) William Pepperel (1696-1758). Joseph[3] Barton also appears on tax lists of Dutchess County for the years 1745-6

as well as in Francis Filkins' Account Book, now in Poughkeepsie. These are all the citations which certainly pertain to this Joseph Barton, not, possibly, to others of the same name. The proven attestations of Joseph[3] Barton thus cease shortly before the proven attestations of the Joseph Barton of Sussex County begin, and the military service in 1744 and following makes a nice connection with similar service of our Joseph Barton.

On the other hand, Joseph[3] Barton must, as we have seen, been born as early as 1722, whereas the lieutenant colonel was about eight years younger at the minimum. Morever, the lieutenant colonel was surely the brother of Charlotte Barton, wife of Jacobus Edsall of Sussex County, almost as certainly also the brother of James Barton of the same county, neither of whom appears in the will of Joseph[2] Barton dated 1762. It may be that Charlotte had already died, but since her widower did not remarry until 1777, it is more probable that Charlotte's death was well after 1762. James Barton, however, was certainly alive in 1765 and probably as late as 1797. Furthermore, the lieutenant colonel had a son-in-law John Hinchman whose administratrix was Abigail Hinchman, probably his daughter and, if so, doubtless reflecting in her name that of the lieutenant colonel's mother.

We may therefore state with fair confidence that the lieutenant colonel was Joseph[4] Barton, son of Benjamin[3] and wife Abigail, grandson of Joseph[2] Barton and first wife, Rachel, great-grandson of Roger[1] Barton and wife Mary, the maiden names of none of the wives being known.

Joseph[4] Barton was certainly married twice, perhaps thrice, the doubt being involved in the question of whether there was an antepenultimate marriage as well as the other two. The late G. Franklin Wisner, *The Wisners in America and their kindred* (Baltimore 1918, p. 229 and chart 1,) published, on the authority of the late Professor Joseph Barrell (1870-1919) the statement that a Joseph Barton married Mary[2] Wisner, daughter of Johannis[1] Wisner and wife Elizabeth Dumbaugh (Dumbauld?), natives of Switzerland who came to America in 1714

after service by Johannis, it is said, as a lieutenant in Queen Anne's forces. They had the following known children: (i) Hendrick (1698-1767) who married Mary Shaw in 1719; (ii) Adam, said to have been born in 1714); (iii) Catherine, who married Thomas Blain; (iv) Anne, who married Philip King; and (v) Mary, who was unmarried on 6 July 1733 when her father made his will, though her two sisters were already married. It is this Mary who is credited by Mr. Wisner with marrying a Joseph Barton. Primary evidence for the marriage is not stated by Mr. Wisner. Professor Barrell, who is cited as the source, was a brother-in-law of the late Mrs. Mary Hornby Barrell (d. 1945), of Orange County, and it is probable that it was she who gave the note on the marriage to Professor Barrell.

In support of the identification of Mary Wisner's husband as our Joseph Barton we may cite the names of some of his children, Henry, John, and Anna, all Wisner names. Moreover, one of the Sussex properties of Joseph Barton had formerly been John Wesner's (Wisner's) and in another deed Adam Wesner is mentioned. Furthermore, in a remarkable letter which will later be quoted, Joseph Barton of Sussex County signed himself as the "loving and affectionate cousin" of his correspondent, Henry Wisner, Esq., probably Henry[3] (Hendrick[2], Johannis[1]) Wisner. The word "cousin" in that period was frequently used in a sense looser than at present. It can stand for what we mean by "first cousin" or any other degree of cousinage, but it also could easily stand for "wife's nephew" which would be appropriate if, indeed, Joseph had married Henry Wisner's Aunt Mary.

If Joseph[4] Barton did marry Mary[2] Wisner, she was probably somewhat older than he. Her brother Adam was born, supposedly, in 1714, and after that came two other daughters old enough to be married women in 1733, and, finally, the fifth child Mary. But Mary was probably not born much later than her sisters, for her older brother was born, if Mr. Wisner's data be correct, in 1698. Perhaps he was child of another wife from the American-born children. However, Joseph Barton

had a propensity for marrying well and it is quite possible that he did marry a woman older than himself. So much for the "first" marriage.

However that may be, he did have also a wife named Anna who, as we shall see, died in New York City on 7 January 1778 in her 48th year, and was certainly the mother of several of the children, if not of all of them. Attempts to find this Anna in one or another prominent Sussex County family, e.g. the Edsalls, the DeLanceys, the Alexanders, the Cuylers, have all failed. So too in the Wisners, but in the latter case the descendants of Adam[2] Wisner are not well known, only four sons being credited to him by Mr. Wisner, and it may be that Adam had a daughter Anna, unknown. No probate of his estate has been found, and if he died later than 1778, he would hardly have mentioned a daughter who died then, and in British territory at that. The Wisners were strong patriots. Such a marriage would explain the use of the word "cousin" which in that case would have its modern meaning.

Joseph Barton's final marriage, whether third or second, was to Elizabeth Brownejohn, widow of John Sarly whom she had married by license in New York on 6 October 1760. She was daughter of Dr. William Brownejohn, Sr., New York druggist, and of his wife Mary. The Brownejohns, like the Bartons, were loyalists, and the wedding took place, with license, on 22 February 1782, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, loyalist rector of Trinity Church, afterwards first Bishop of Nova Scotia, officiating. The bride was described in a newspaper as "a lady of amiable character and a very handsome fortune." Dr. Brownejohn's will (*N. Y. Gen. & Biogr.* Rec. 36.282), dated 14 June 1782 and probated in London precisely three years later, shows that he was then living in Hanover Square. His widow survived him, as did also his eldest son William, likewise a physician, who died between 8 August 1784 and 8 July 1785 (*Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.* 37.172 f.); son Samuel; daughters Elizabeth, Mary, Catherine, and Rachel, then the wives respectively, of Joseph Barton, Timothy Hurst, Oliver Templeton, and John Price. There was also a deceased son Thomas with children

William Elizabeth, Mary, and Catherine. The sums mentioned in the elder Brownejohn's will suggest a state of affluence, if not of wealth. Elizabeth Brownejohn Sarly Barton survived her second husband and died in New York City between 8 March 1817 and 1828, leaving a will in which all bequests were to children of her sisters (*N. Y. Gen. & Biogr. Rec.* 36.174). She had no children of her own by either husband.

At the Court of General Sessions of the Peace held the last Thursday in April 1750 for the County of Orange (Orange County Session Minutes, Bk I [1727-1779], p. 88) the Court "Adjourned to House of John Yalverton at 8 o'clock in forenoon" and in the case of "The King against Joseph Barton" the following is recorded:

> The Defend't being called, appears; the Grand Jury comes into Court & Delivers In a Bill of Indictment against sd Defendt—the Indictment being ready, sd Defendt Pleads guilty & Leaves himself on the Mercy of the Court; The Court order an Assess. of Fine, one shill; & that sd Defendt stand committed until fine with fees be paid.

The original, which has been specially consulted for me by Miss Elizabeth Horton, contains no explanation of what the charge was, but in view of the small fine, the charge cannot have been serious. Mr. Voge suggested that it was a case of tax evasion. This item probably refers to our Joseph Barton and if so, is the earliest record of his presence in the Orange-Sussex area. If it be not our Joseph Barton, then it must be Joseph[3] Barton above, the only other known Joseph who could have been then living in Orange County.

On 25 June 1754 (O'Callaghan, *Calendar of English MSS* 1.618) one Abraham Springfield of Orange County testified that he was fishing for eels at the bridge over the drowned lands (a swamp on the New York-New Jersey boundary) when Richard Gardner, John Herring, and Joseph Barton, came and told him that they were leaders of 40 men against Thomas DeKay and Henry Wisner, and that they tore up the planks of the bridge. Other testimony on the same page, given by John Carman, Cornelius Wood, William Knap, George Ellsworth, and Christian Snedicar, coupled with lengthy testimony of Richard Gardner on the New Jersey side (*N. J. Arch.*

1.8.220-86), makes it clear that the trouble was a boundary dispute between the two provinces. Joseph Barton had now apparently moved into Sussex County.

Among the persons commissioned lieutenant in Colonel John Johnston's New Jersey Regiment in the months of March and April 1758 appears the name of Joseph Barton. This regiment is sometimes stated to have been commanded by Colonel Peter Schuyler, as indeed it had been, but the fact is that at the date of Barton's commission, Schuyler was ineligible for command, being on parole after capture by the French. In any case, this regiment participated in the disastrous attack on the French at Ticonderoga 6 July 1758 and Joseph Barton was present (see *N. J. Arch.* 1.9.184 f.) Brigadier General Oliver DeLancey in 1781 testified to having seen "Captain Barton" there, employed as a paymaster and in the building of a fort at Fort Stanwix, not in the field.

In that same year of 1758 Joseph Barton made the first purchase of land in Sussex County of which we have record. His purchases are recorded in three sources: (1) surveys of land in the books of the East Jersey Proprietors, now at Perth Amboy and abstracted by Mr. Voge; (2) deeds recorded at the Sussex County Courthouse in Newton and abstracted for me in 1949 by my father, Samuel McCracken; (3) an inventory of Joseph Barton's holdings made by himself in 1786 in testimony given before Commissioner Jeremy Pemberton at Halifax, Nova Scotia, of which two versions were made, substantially the same but differing in details, preserved now in copies on deposit in the Public Records Office, London, and copied, in manuscript form now preserved in the New York Public Library; and, finally, one of the versions was printed in the *Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives* (Toronto 1904-5) 1.600-5 (case no. 522) from a copy said now to be in the Library of Congress; and (4) a list of 37 of the confiscated properties of Joseph Barton published in more than one American newspaper by Joseph Gaston, agent for New Jersey, 14 September 1786, an original now in the Public Records Office, London, photostat of another copy in my possession.

The first two sources could be expected to deal with different properties, but it is surprising that there is but a single property recorded at Newton which also can be identified in Barton's testimony and in Gaston's sale bill. The reason for the discrepancies is doubtless to be found in the fact that in one case not all purchases were immediately recorded, in the second we are dealing with a statement set down from memory, and in the third the various properties are probably broken up into sizes more likely to find buyers.

The first property purchased was a cedar swamp adjoining the farm known as Dunning's Neck, 53.25 acres, purchased from John Stevens, a son-in-law of James Alexander and brother-in-law of Lord Stirling, the price being 30/- the acre, and Barton purchased various rights of him at the time, none of which he specified in the Halifax testimony, by which date (1786) this property had been sold to four different people by the Sussex County Commissioners. On 9 February 1760 Joseph Barton signed an inventory of the estate of one Benjamin Forgeson (Ferguson?) in Sussex, and on 30 January 1764 witnessed the will of one Hezekiah Lowrain or Loreen in Wantage Township, probated 17 May 1785 in Orange County (*Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.* 37.166). Lowrain lived on the New York-New Jersey boundary line where Joseph Barton had on 13 December 1762 bought property consisting of 52.77 acres on the east side of Wall Kill, "drowned land," as it was called, from William Alexander (Lord Stirling), and others, consideration £37/13/10 (Sussex Deeds C-338). This property was on the New Jersey side of the boundary line—at the same time he had also bought 173 acres from the devisees of James and Mary Alexander, i.e., the same sellers, the date of record being 16 December 1762 (*Colonial Laws of N. Y.* 5.185, 188). James Alexander's Book of Deeds (N. J. Hist. Soc.) has under date of May 1761 (Draft of agreement entered by John Stevens and Walter R..... for Proprietary Rights sold by them at Wantage—account in folio list reserving half of mineral rights) an allusion to "Joseph Barton's place to be located, 102 acres, £173). In the East New Jersey Proprietors books

at Perth Amboy are the following surveys to Joseph Barton: 18 August 1761, survey of land by Richard Gardner; the Alexander heirs to Joseph Barton (probably the same property mentioned above), S4-378; survey by Ephram Darby on 6 September 1767, recorded 20 November 1767, 61 acres in Wantage for £125, grantor Cuyler, signed by Lord Stirling (S5-388); survey by Darby, grantor Cuyler, 16 acres at McQueen's in Wantage; £125, part of a grant of 100 acres from Cuyler in Newton, Pawlingskill (S6-10); John Stevens, grantor, 68 acres 20 January 1769 (AB6-91) Earl of Perth grantor, 1770, 100 acres, £122 (AB6-96); John Stoll of Newton, grantor, 57 acres, 1770 (AB6-123); land recorded in S5-388 sold back to East Jersey Proprietors, 61 acres for 5/- (the acre?), September 1774 (AB6-351).

In 1766 Joseph Barton purchased the first part of the property which ultimately became the homestead farm in Newton Township, Sussex County, totalling 822 acres when the Revolution ended his residence. The first purchase was 450 acres bought from Joseph and Samuel (Isaac?) Sharp and others for £3 an acre. A second part he purchased soon afterwards from Richard Gardner and Robert Ogden for about 50/- an acre, as he recalled in 1786. A third part he bought later at an unknown date from Francis Price and Robert Price, 100 acres at 50/- an acre, while the fourth part, bought of Joseph and Samuel Sharp, was acquired about 1774 in exchange for other lands he owned: 120 acres of meadow, 300 or 400 acres well improved, 400 or 500 acres of good woodland, the whole valued in 1786 at £4/10 the acre. Where he was living at this period is not clear, for shortly before the Revolution he had built a new house on this property. In 1770 the account books of Martin Ryerson (transcript in D.A.R. Library, Washington) record on 7 November 1770 surveying of Sussex land for Joseph Barton. Known purchases for that year include 21.75 acres in Newtown, with a large house and store. The house and 1.75 acre were purchased from William Kelley in 1770 or 1771 for £700. Barton himself for a time resided in the house, but had by the time he left Sussex in 1776, rented it for a tavern at

£60 per annum. The remaining 20 acres had been bought of Jonathan Hampton. This had also been sold by the Commissioners before 1786 and Judges Simms (=John Cleves Symmes) was believed to be in possession, the tavern conducted by one Jones. In 1770 also he bought 19 acres of land in Warwick by survey from the proprietors. On this property there was a saw mill. On 23 April 1770 he deeded to Jacob DeWitt 17.21 acres of land in Wantage, consideration £27 Proclamation Money, recorded 24 November 1801 (F-247).

In 1771 Barton began his duties as agent for Oliver DeLancey, a landowner in Sussex, who in 1781 testified that he had been satisfied with Barton's services. In this connection no. 1148 of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* dated 25 October 1773 (=*N. J. Arch.* 1.29.73) carried a notice offering DeLancey's land for sale with Barton indicated as agent in Sussex to whom enquiry might be made. On his own testimony at Halifax Barton had also in the same period served as agent for the Proprietors of East Jersey. To the same year belongs the purchase of the Givens or Givins Farm "at the Plain Fields," a tract of 200 acres bought of Henry Chyler (Cuyler) and Oliver DeLancey. Barton had done surveying for them and took the property in payment, it being estimated as worth 25/- the acre. He had improved and ditched it and in 1786 valued it as worth 40/- the acre, but it had been sold and was occupied then by one William Broderic (or Brodesie or Brodesne?).

In 1772 he bought a property of 60 acres in Newton, two miles from the courthouse. The land had belonged to the late Chief Justice Morris and he (Barton) had agreed with the executors to purchase the property, purchase to be confirmed when the heir, Robert Morris, came of age, consideration £100. By 1776 when Barton left Sussex, Morris was still a minor and no deed had been given him. He had, however, in 1774 built a grist mill on the property at the cost of £800. The patriots had gotten control of this and there being a quarrel about it, they burnt it. (This property may be the one of which the same story is told by J. P. Snell, *History of Sussex and*

Warren Counties, p. 451, where the owner is called Benjamin Barton.) The farm on which this mill stood was to be sold 20 April 1780 (*N. J. Arch.* 2.4.228 f.) and also on the same day 800 acres near 'Squires Point (*ibid.* 278). In the same year or the next (1772-3) Barton bought a farm of 152 acres five miles from the courthouse. This he had obtained at a sheriff's sale, the property having been mortgaged to Barton and he paid no more than the £150 of the mortgage. A dispute had arisen with Lord Stirling but the latter dropped the claim. Barton rented the property to one John Orrey for five years for nothing other than the improvements and a shilling an acre for twenty years. In 1786 he thought this property had been sold. Also in 1772 belongs the purchase of a farm called Dunning's Neck, 277 acres, bought of Henry Chyler (Cuyler) and Oliver DeLancey. The price is stated at 40/- the acre. Another farm had been purchased of Richard Etsel, i.e., Edsall, brother of his brother-in-law Jacobus Edsall. To pay for this property he exchanged a male negro valued at £60, and the remainder was surveyed to him. Robert Ogden had bought this property from the Commissioners. Another property bought the same year at sheriff's sale consisted of 1100 acres near Minisink with two houses and tenants on it.

Purchases continued in 1773, including 60 acres of woodland near Washburn's surveyed to himself at 25/- the acre; 17 acres adjoining Hugh Hagerty's farm, purchased of Samuel and Joseph Sharp; and the Collard Place, two tracts of 122.36 acres in all, conveyed to Barton by William Collard for £100 on 1 Mal 1773 (recorded 21 February 1791, A-389). This property is no. 20 on the list advertised for sale by Joseph Gaston and is there indicated as "possessed" (occupied) by James Heustead. One James Heustis is on record as having given Barton a mortgage (A-215) for £150 for a property in Sussex, probably this one. The fact that he had sold the property to Heustead or Heustis probably explains why he did not list it in the inventory of 1786, unless it be the one mentioned above as taken by foreclosure for the same amount. In 1774 he added to his holdings a half acre adjoining the house and

store in Newtown, seller being George Rhea (Ray), consideration £10. The Commissioners had sold this small plot by 1786. In the same year he deeded, on 2 November, 6.9 acres, consideration £10. to John Midvale, recorded 21 February 1815 (A2-509). The inventory of 1786 also includes a number of items for which he gave no year of purchase. These include: Adams' Farm of 50 acres purchased from Richard Edsall, already sold by the Commissioners; a meadow of 30.5 acres in McQuin's (McQueen's) Meadow, bought by survey; a farm called John Adams' "old place" on Passacoting, 45 acres, purchased of Henry Cuyler. This was let at £3 per annum and was valued at 50/- an acre; a farm where Allen Wager lived, 56 acres, purchased of Walter Rutherforth at 30/- the acre, but very little improved—it had been let for five years without rent to make improvements, and had been sold in 1786; a tract of 200 acres on Warwick River, purchased of Samuel and Joseph Sharp, and Barton had before 1776 agreed to sell this for £308; another tract of 119 acres near Minisink bought from Oliver DeLancey, valued at 30/- the acre; Brink's Meadow, 52 acres, purchased of Henry Cuyler and valued at 50/- the acre; a tract of 30 acres where John Washburn lived, purchased from John Updegrave. He had given it to Updegrave for his services and then purchased it from him at 35/- the acre.

We should particularly note also Barton's sale to Francis Price on 26 August 1776 of some land in Sharp's tract on Pasacotting involving in some way land of Adam Wisner. This transaction is particularly interesting because the witnesses were Mary Hovard, who signed by mark but without witnesses to the mark, and Henry Barton, the grantor's son. Failure to note that Mary Hovard's mark needed witnesses proved a defect remedied at the time of recording by testimony of Zachariah Price (brother of the grantee!), who appeared before one of the judges and proved the signature by virtue of familiarity with it, stating that he knew Joseph Barton had sold his property to Francis Price. Probably there was no chicanery involved, since the same Francis Price, a judge, was later asked

to perform the marriages of two of Joseph Barton's children.

When on 1 May 1786 Joseph Barton appeared before Commissioner Pemberton at Halifax he stated that he was unable to present title deeds to his properties, as, he said, General Arnold had destroyed his papers in December 1776. "Maps of different Tracts of Land which Claimant had in his Possession as Surveyor, gave the Party came [sic, for cause] of Suspicion, and all his Deeds and Papers were burnt" (Audit Office 12, vol. 15, 280). In this testimony also he stated that he had given a mortgage on the homestead farm for £1000 to Hugh Wallis; that he had paid off £700 and had Wallis' receipt, but that this was not noted on the mortgage deed and Wallis had made claim from the Commissioners in New Jersey for the whole amount, though the Commissioners paid no attention to Wallis. There was another mortgage on the tavern property, originally for £300, mortgagee not named, and of this mortgage £200 had been paid off.

These extensive land purchases imply a source of considerable wealth. Mr. Voge was at one time inclined to believe that the source was inheritance from Mary Wisner's family, but he appears to have wrongly dated that marriage in the late fifties, instead of in the late forties. If such a source be sought, it would be more reasonable to suppose that Barton inherited much from the family of his wife Anna, whoever she was, as the period of affluence fits in well with the theory of a second marriage. There is, perhaps, no need to posit such an inheritance to explain the affluence. Joseph Barton seems to have been exceedingly successful in business, owning two grist mills and a saw mill. He was also a manufacturer of potash, i.e., potassium carbonate, then produced from wood ashes. The inventory of personal estate made in 1786 contains, besides the items to be expected of a farmer, the following equipment used in potash manufacturing:

2 pair of large Pot Ash Kettles at £30 per pair	£60/-/-.
8 Large Kettle Coolers at £2	16/-/-.
24 Large Tubs at £1	24/-/-.
A Large Fat [sic, for Vat] for draining Lye	8/-/-.
2 Large Iron Ladles at 10/-	1/-/-.

Moreover, at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1776, a quantity of the potash amounting to 3.5 tons had been sent to Elizabeth Town. A ton and a half had been taken by British soldiers and put on board a vessel by way of plunder but the vessel was taken by Americans. The remainder was still in Elizabeth Town in 1786 and Barton had endeavored to conceal his ownership in the hope that his brother-in-law (probably Jacobus Edsall) could lay hold of it. This potash was valued at £30 a ton. The potash industry was doubtless lucrative, as were the mills, and it is clear that Barton had been able to turn his hand at making money by acting as real estate agent for DeLancey and others and by land speculation of his own.

In addition to the potash equipment already mentioned, "An Inventory of Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Barton's Personal Property and Effects" at the start of the Revolution includes the following:

20 Milch Cows a £5	£100/--/-.
5 yoke of Oxen a £8 each [ox]	80/--/-.
30 head of young Cattle a £2	60/--/-.
10 Horses a £12 each	120/--/-.
30 Hogs a 15/- each	22/10/-.
50 Tons of English Hay a 40/-	100/--/-.
150 Bushels of Wheat taken out of the Mill a 5/-	37/10/-.
1 Stack of Wheat in the field	12/--/-.
Indian Corn	12/--/-.
A Waggon, Ox Cart & Slay	28/--/-.
Farming Utensils	20/--/-.
6 Feather Beds, Bedding, Bedstead & furniture	48/--/-.
a fine Clock and a good Silver Watch	25/--/-.
1 Desk, Cupboard several Tables & Chairs	20/--/-.
Kitchen Furniture	12/--/-.
2 Silver mounted Fuzees	15/--/-.
2 Rifils, one cost me £15	12/--/-.
Several other stand of Arms & a Silver mounted Sword	8/--/-.
A fine large Copper Still cost me	70/--/-.
A large Horse Sadle & Bridle taken from him when taken prisoner by Genl Debore	20/--/-.
2 Sheep	10/--/-.
3½ Tons of Pot Ash taken at Elizabeth Town a £30 per Ton	105/--/-.
A Negroe Wench & three Children which cost Mrs. Barton	115/--/-.
Same Negroe Wench & Children taken from Mrs Barton and sold a second time	115/--/-.
[Total, including potash equipment above]	£1276.
Sterling	£760/12/-.

To this the following abstract of losses is appended:

Abstract		Sterling
Amount of Real Property as per Schedule		£5892/12/-.
of Moveable as per Inventory thereof		760/12/-.
Amount of Debts due on Bond & Mortgage £2420 is		1444/--/-.
Old Paper Currency received equal in Value to Gold	£500	
ditto same Money amounting to £690 which he purchased during the war and paid 30 per Cent for it	207	
	£707 is	425/4/-.
		£8522/8/-.

Obviously, Joseph Barton was at the start of the Revolution a very rich man, probably second in Sussex County only to Oliver DeLancey who lost even more property. It is too much, however, to say that his wealth was the cause of his loyalty to the Crown: a good deal of nonsense has been written on the score of how the wealthy were regular loyalists and the poor patriots. The schism was not caused by wealth versus poverty—natural inclinations doubtless made the decision.

The prosperous landowner was called in 1775 on the eve of the Revolution to larger responsibilities of a political nature, being elected, in succession to Thomas Van Horn, deceased, Sussex' representative in the 22nd and last Colonial Assembly of New Jersey. Here he was doubtless unhappy as the troubles began, to use his own phrase for the outbreak of independence; and as his sympathies would appear always to be on the side of the Crown, he was probably not popular with some of his fellow assemblymen, though there were future loyalists in that body. The *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton 1879) permit us to give an account of Joseph Barton's brief career in the legislature. On Wednesday, 17 May 1775 (p. 132):

> Joseph Barton, Esquire, being duly returned a Representative in Assembly for the County of Sussex, and now attending, was admitted into the House, and took the usual oaths, and made and subscribed the Declaration by law appointed before Cortland Skinner, Esquire, authorized by *dedimus potestatem*. Ordered, That Mr. Barton do take his seat in the House.

Joseph Barton is not recorded as taking any part in the

deliberations until on Saturday, 20 May 1775 (p. 148), the last day of the session, he cast his vote in the negative for a resolution which was passed 24 to 1. To understand the significance of this apparently courageous vote, we must go back a bit to a period before Mr. Barton arrived in Burlington. On Tuesday, 16 May 1775 (p. 130), Mr. Samuel Tucker, of Hunterdon County, "laid before the House a printed Pamphlet lately received from Great Britain, entitled 'Tthe Parliamentary Register, No. 5' containing among other things, a Paper entitled 'An Extract of a Letter from Governor Franklin to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Perth Amboy, February 1, 1775; received February 28,' in which William Franklin attacked the New Jersey Assembly for pushing through a vote of approval of the proceedings at Philadelphia. The Extract was read and ordered to be read a second time, which was done on Thursday, 18 May 1775 (p. 133), after Barton had taken his seat. Then an Address to the Governor was prepared, asking him whether the Extract contained a true representation of his views. On Saturday, 20 May 1775 (pp. 144-7), his reply was received and read, and on the same day, a resolution was proposed saying (a) that Tucker's reading of the pamphlet had not hurt Governor Franklin; and (b) that a committee should be appointed to consider the message. This double-headed resolution, mild enough, it would seem, was too strong for Barton and he alone voted against it. The point is important for it is sometimes said that he voted against the impeachment of Governor Franklin, but he was not present at that momentous occasion, 16 June 1776, when the Provincial Congress and not the Colonial Assembly voted for impeachment 42 to 10 (Snell, *History of Sussex and Warren Counties,* p. 53).

Before that time, however, Joseph Barton was also present at the next session at Burlington from 15 November to 6 December 1775. His votes in this session are recorded as follows: for a motion to permit the remaining delegates at Philadelphia to act for New Jersey after two had resigned (p. 289); for a motion to repair barracks, motion lost 13 to 12 (p. 294); against a motion intended to make manumission easier (pp.

295 f.); against a motion to refer the manumission motion to the next session (p. 296); for a motion to approve and engross the Address, Mr. Kinsey voting no on this (p. 297); for a motion to pay expenses of census takers (p. 299); for a higher salary to be paid the Governor and two Supreme Court Justices, the later being Richard Stockton and Cortland Skinner (pp. 302 f.); for a motion fixing the salary of assemblymen at 8/- instead of 6/- per day (pp. 305 f.); against a motion requesting dissolution. This last vote was tied 12 to 12 and Speaker Skinner cast the deciding vote in the negative (p. 312). On Saturday, 2 December 1775 (p. 314), "Mr. Barton had leave of absence for the remainder of the session, upon extraordinary occasions." His votes were consistently conservative and always on the side of the authority of the Governor, but his was by no means a conspicuous career in the Assembly.

The Assembly was prorogued on 6 December 1775, Barton absent, to meet again on 3 January 1776, but it never met again as constituted. He had doubtless returned home to Sussex where he remained, so far as we know, until the British landed on Staten Island after the occupation of New York. He was at home when the Declaration of Independence was signed on 4 July 1776 and in five days the news had reached him. There was printed by Peter Force, in his *American Archives* (Washington 1848), Fifth Series, vol. 1, p. 139, the following remarkable letter, the original of which appears not to have been preserved in the Library of Congress:

Joseph Barton to Henry Wisner

Newton, Sussex County, Jersey, July 9, 1776.

Dear Sir:

I received your favour of the 5th instant [not published by Force], relating to flint-stones. I have sent a sample of the flint our country abounds in. If there can be any way of manufacturing that sort of flint to any advantage, there is enough of it; besides, there are two other sorts—a red flint (which is found *Menesint* [Minisink], which far exexceeds any imported from Europe) and a green. The green flint which I have sent you is better than the common sort of flint used. It is harder, and will fire oftener without sharpening. Besides these mentioned, there is a black flint, commonly found incorporated with limestone. Our country abounds in great plenty of this sort. I have often made use of it for gun-flints, but don't think they are equal to the other sorts. Another sort we sometimes use, which we call the crystal flint,

resembling the diamond amongst us. They are commonly small, but at *Membucas,* near *Esopus,* they are very large. Could they be manufactured, would far exceed any imported. But, sir, we want none of the flint here: you may have them all, for we have no powder, which gives great uneasiness to the people in general, as we expect an *Indian* war, should our forces fail to the northward. For my own part, could I procure powder at forty shillings, should embrace the opportunity. As to lead, there is a good lead-mine at Nepenok. I have used the lead oftentimes: we could help ourselves to that article.

I pray, if in your power, you would order powder, if it were but a quarter of a pound, each man. I should rest much easier for my part, and think we could defend ourselves, if attacked by our enemies, in some measure; but now have have nothing but our axes or sticks to fight with, should be be attacked. As to the lead mine, I could wish it might be worked in; I should be glad to undertake that matter, and would give considerable towards it myself. I have sent three different sort of flint-stone—the black is the limestone flint.

Sir, it gives a great turn to the minds of our people declaring our independence. Now we know what to depend on. For my part, I have been at a great stand: I could hardly own the King, and fight against him at the same time; but now these matters are cleared up. Heart and hand shall move together. I don't think there will be five Tories in our part of the country in ten days after matters are well known. We have had great numbers who would do nothing until we were declared a free State, who now are ready to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of our country.

I must, my dear friend, bid you farewell. May the Supreme Judge of all things sit at the head of our affairs, and give that great and august body, the Congress, wisdom to govern us, and by their Wisdom make this continent a great and happy empire. I expect a great turn one way or the other before I see you again.

I am, sir, your loving and affectionate cousin,

To *Henry Wisner,* Esq. Joseph Barton

N. B. I believe, sir, could the gentlemen see one Island in the drowned land near Jacobus Ducker's [sic] called *Flint-Island,* they would think we could supply all Europe with gun-flints, besides our own country.

J. B.

We have already discussed the significance of the word "cousin" in the conclusion to this letter, and the identity of Henry Wisner, the addressee. The letter falls neatly into two parts: (a) the discussion of the flint, and (b) the political sentiments which appear entirely patriotic, not at all loyalist. These are the only evidence found to suggest that Joseph Barton's loyalty to the Crown was not always wholehearted and consistent. The letter appears to me genuine but not wholly so. It may be that basically it is genuine, that is, the discussion of the flint and the powder is authentic but the political sentiments have been added by some one, probably not Peter Force, to conceal the loyalist character of Joseph Barton, or the forger

may not have realized that he was adding patriotic sentiments to a loyalist's letter. But the whole letter may be genuine, in which case the patriotic sentiments may be sincere or deceitful. If sincere, then Joseph Barton was at this period intending to cast in his lot with the patriots and later something caused him to change his mind. If deceitful, he may have desired to exploit his cousin for what he could—the cousin was ultimately to be a prominent manufacturer of powder and already was showing interest in the subject.

However that may be, on his own testimony at Halifax Joseph Barton went to the British after they landed on Staten Island, and then returned home to get a person to procure provisions for the British service. At Hackensack on 27 November 1776 (Audit Office 13, bundle 17), he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel by Sir William Howe (commission produced at Halifax but apparently retained), and was assigned to command the 5th Battalion in the Regiment of the New Jersey Volunteers, Major General Cortland Skinner, Commanding. This was the same man who had been speaker of the Assembly and we shall meet him again. The regiment corresponded to the militia of colonial times. Two days later General Skinner issued "Orders & Instructions to Nathaniel Pettit, Robert Allison & Joseph Barton, Esq'rs," a copy of which has been furnished by the Department of Public Records and Archives, Toronto. How it came to be preserved there is unknown nor is it certain that they have the original and not merely a copy. Nathaniel Pettit was a judge, a member of the Colonial Assembly from Sussex 1772-1775, was arrested, fined, and bonded in 1776. Robert Allison was bound over in 1777—apparently both men were civilians and were expected to assist Joseph Barton in his recruiting. The text is as follows:

> You are to summon the Inhabit's of Sussex to Meet at such time & place as you shall appoint.
> When met you are to Publish the Commission herewith Delivered to you, and
> Then the Inhabit's are to renew their Oath of fidelity to their Lawfull Sovereign King George the third.
> You are then to enroll a Battalion of 500 men, to Serve During the Present Rebellion under proper officers; Ten Companys of 50 men Each

to be Commanded by a Cap'n, L't & Ensign—if they do not Voluntarily inlist. You are then to Detach that Number from the Militia, being carefull that all Volunteers or Detached Men, are young & Healthy & Strong. The field & other Officers upon proper recommendation will be Immediately Commissioned, & put on British pay, as well as the troops they Command—It is hoped that Joseph Barton's Esq'r's appointment to the Command of the Battalion will be agreeable to the County.

Whenever the Battalion is completed, or Companys are formed, they are to March and join the Royall Army, where they will be provided with arms, Ammunition, Provisions, &c. As an [earnest?] in this matter will evince the loyalty of New Jersey more than words, and wipe off that Charge of Rebellion, that has been entertained of the Province from the Conduct of a few bad men. It is hoped for the honor of New Jersey & the County of Sussex in Particular, that the Inhabitants will embrace this Opportunity of showing their Loyalty to their King, and that they will face any Danger to rescue their Country from tyranny & restore peace and their own happy Constitution.

In his later testimony Joseph Barton made claim to having raised a regiment of more than a hundred men, and probably also assisted others in recruiting, for a fellow loyalist, John Cowgill, of Newtown, testified before the Commissioners on 19 January 1787 that Colonel Barton had lent his £200 in Congress money in 1777 when he [probably Barton] was raising his men, for which Cowgill gave a mortgage. Colonel Barton required payment and had been paid about £100 in hard money. In Cowgill's view, Barton had used him very ill and the Congress money was mostly counterfeit.

To the same period belongs a report made on 31 March 1777 by one John More or Moore, Precinct of Mamacotting, Orange (now Sullivan) County, that Joseph Barton had organized a Tory plot to capture Sussex Courthouse (*Clinton Papers* 1.694 no. 426; *Calendar of Hist. MSS relating to the Revolution*), and in somewhat greater detail in the testimony of a prisoner, Samuel Harring, forwarded by Pierre Van Cortlandt to Clinton at Kingston, 17 April 1777 (*Papers* 1.716 no. 444). Harring, a native of Ireland, had been arrested at Minisink as the result of Moore's swearing that Harring was a Lieutenant in the British Army, and was enlisting men for that purpose. Moore, he said, had deserted from the same army, had since enlisted in the patriot army "and has deserted from them," that is, from the British, I presume. Harring then continues:

That some time in the winter the Examinant [Harring] heard that one Joseph Barton, living at a place called Mama Cotting had a Quantity of Salt to Sell, which the Examinant was much in want of; that the Examinant went there and while there, said Barton gave him encouragement and Advised him to join the Regular Army, telling him that matters would soon be settled on the same footing they were in the year 1763. And if he wou'd join he wou'd have 100 Acres of Land given him, which the examinant says he refused. That some Time after one Solomon Kortreght was sent to the Examinant and requesting him to come to the said Barton immediately, which he refused to do, that the next night the said Barton went off to the Enemy as this Examinant has been informed. That . . . since that Time said Kortreght has told the Examinant he would Enlist all the Men in his power, and inform'd him he had seen a Letter from said Barton which mentioned that he and all his Friends should hold themselves in Readiness, that he intended to be at Home to Eat his Easter Dinner, and on the Night following make a General Gaol delivery at Sussex and Goshen; that the Examinant waged a bottle of Rum that it would not be done by May Day; that sometime since the said Kortreght offered the Examinant £50 to go with him to the Regulars . . .

This testimony was taken under oath, sworn before Jon'n Lawrence at Kingston on 16 April 1777, and continues with an account of a planned expedition in Orange in which Barton no longer appears. The order for Harring's arrest (*Papers* 1.696 no. 428) had also included the following persons: Briant Hammon, Francis McGee, Jacobus Brink, brother-in-law of Harring, Joseph Barton, James McCormick, but there is no evidence in the *Clinton Papers* that Barton was apprehended.

This testimony of Harring is, of course, suspect. Though under oath, he was a prisoner at the time and in serious difficulties. It was to his advantage to tell his captors what they wanted him to say, namely, information that would inculpate other loyalists. But this allusion to Joseph Barton's residence at Mamacotting in present Sullivan County is the only item which does not generally harmonize with the view that Joseph Barton actually lived at Newton in Sussex County. Harring was either mistaken in this statement or deliberately lying to throw his interrogators off the scent. The allusion to the salt sounds very like the Sussex Joseph Barton who was, as we have seen, a man much interested in manufactures. Moreover, if Barton was to eat his dinner at home and the next night effect a jail delivery at Sussex Courthouse, it would seem that the home where he intended to eat must have been much nearer

Newton than Mamacotting would be. Furthermore, it is barely possible that Harring was confusing Joseph Barton with his brother James who also had associations with Upper Orange County. They were frequently confused even by contemporaries; e.g., George Washington (*Writings* 8.72) noted that James Barton had recently been recruiting—Joseph had a habit of signing himself "Jos." with the second letter generally not clear. In any case, there is not much likelihood that Harring's testimony is the only evidence for a Joseph Barton otherwise unknown, distinct from the Sussex County lieutenant colonel.

On 26 April 1777 Lt. Col. Gilbert Cooper wrote to Clinton (*Papers* 1.740 f. no. 465) from Sidnam's Cove and stated that:

> a party of the new levies under Coll. Barton, Leut't Coll. Drummond & Major Timpany, said to consist of about two hundred, a little after sun rise this morning, surprised took & carried off Capt. W't Van Zandt and three others from Garret Hopper's neighbourhood they also took twelve guns, five or six horses . . .

Cooper's error in giving Barton's rank is insignificant: intelligence gathering was then in its infancy, if indeed already born, and even today Order of Battle sometimes makes greater errors than that. In May Barton's unit, together with that of his brother officer, Lt. Col. Abraham Van Buskirk, took part in the small action at Paramus (Bergen County), which won some notice in the correspondence of the American Commander-in-Chief (*Writings* 8.72). *The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* for 19 May 1777 (*N. J. Arch.* 2.1.378 f.) states that on Monday afternoon previous Colonel Barton with Colonel Dongan and 300 men went to attack General Heard at Paramus and drove the enemy into the woods. The same paper in its issue for 24 March 1777 (*ibid* 2.1.322) had reported that Colonel Barton had gone out on the previous Thursday and brought in four prisoners (obviously not Van Zandt and friends, above).

On the night of 22 August 1777, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Barton was among the prisoners, of whom about forty were privates, taken in a surprise attack made by General Sullivan, with Generals Deborre and Smallwood, upon British and Loyalist forces on Staten Island. We owe our rather detailed

knowledge of the affair, not to its strategic or tactical importance, but to the fact that Sullivan himself was charged with incompetence and asked for an inquiry. For the testimony see O. G. Hammond, *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan* (Concord 1930) 1.428 f., 459, 489, 496, 498, 510, 513, 516 519; for a British view see the diary of Lt. Col. Philip Kemble (*Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.* 16.127 for 22 August 1777) which does not give Barton's first name—it is the editor who wrongly attributes the exploit to *Thomas* Barton, an error also found in Lorenzo Sabine, *Loyalists* 1.214; see also Richard M. Bayles, *History of Richmond County, New York* (New York 1887) pp. 192 ff.; *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* for 26 August 1777 (*N. J. Arch.* 2.1.457) quotes an account of the engagement but says nothing of Barton. Colonel Barton's part in the affair is not dwelt upon at great length in these accounts; he merely was unfortunate enough to be caught unprepared and himself captured. He may not have thought there was much danger at the time, for a week before, on 16 August 1777, he had gone from Bergen to Paramus without opposition (*New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* for 16 August 1777=*N. J. Arch.* 2.1.398). Barton's position appears to have been near the Staten Island end of the Old [so Kemble; Bayles says New] Blazing Star ferry running from the mouth of Thompson's Creek, a little below Elizabeth Town Point to Linoleumville, and he was attacked by that part of Sullivan's forces which was under General Deborre, a point confirmed by Barton's own testimony about the loss of the saddle. The *Sullivan Papers* (1.438 f. state:

> General De Borres Brigade marched Down to Attack Colo Barton who Drew up his men & after firing a few Shot Ran off Toward the Ferry . . . we however secured the Colo with a number of his men to the amount I think of 40.

Major James Reed of the American Army testified on 11 October 1777 before the court of inquiry (*Sullivan Papers* 1.492) that he had found a horse saddled, rode it for a time and then gave it to General De Borre. This must have been the horse having the saddle for which claim was made. Kem-

ble's estimate of the losses (he was the British intelligence officer at the time) was that the Americans had lost 70 killed, 150 captured including one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, and three captains. Latest reports, he said, were that there were nearly 200 killed, 300 taken, while the British lost six killed, and 25 prisoners. These losses should probably be scaled down on the American side, considering the source.

The captured lieutenant colonel was at once treated as a prisoner of war, ultimately incarcerated at Wethersfield, Connecticut. His eldest son Benjamin was also taken and apparently not in uniform, for he was sent to Princeton under guard, and appeared before the New Jersey Council of Safety. By a strange coincidence this Council of Safety had been meeting from 7 July to 21 July 1777 in Newton, home of the Bartons, but for a month had been back at Princeton. Benjamin was suspected of being a British captain and it may be that he was not taken at Staten Island but at Newton, but since he was given a first hearing at Princeton on 28 August 1777, it is hardly possible that there was time enough for Sullivan to send to Sussex County and arrest Benjamin, after his father's capture.

Sometime in 1778 Colonel Barton was released by the Americans on parole but before that time tragedy struck the family a severe blow. The wife and most of the children had been left in Sussex where, according to a loyalist source (the obituary notice of Mrs. Barton, *N. J. Arch.* 2.2.8), she "endured every Sort of Persecution from the Rebels, who also stripped her of all her Property." The following action pertaining to her appears under date of 7 October 1777 in the Minutes of the Council of Safety at Princeton:

> Whereas Joseph Barton, Patrick Hagerty [son of Hugh] and Thos. Russell who were lately residents of this State, have gone over to the enemy and not withstanding have left their families behind them: It is therefore agreed and resolved that Anna Barton, wife of Joseph Barton, and her children under age except Henry and John . . . be removed to Staten Island on the southeast side of the Hackensack River in order that they may go into the enemies lines.

The cost of the transportation for the Bartons, Hagertys, and Russels, was expensive, for Cyrus Beckwith was paid

£43/17/11 for doing the work on 26 January 1778 (*Minutes* 144, 196, erroneously dated 1777). The deportation had taken only a month, however, to complete, for Brigadier General John Campbell wrote from Head Quarters, Staten Island, on 7 November 1777 to Major General Jones as follows (original now preserved at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, used by permission):

> I presume to take the Liberty of recommending to your Notice and Favour, the Wife and five young Children of Lt. Colonel Barton of our Provincial Troops (now a prisoner with the Rebels) & who are sent in by an Order from the Committee of Safety of the State (as they call themselves) of New-Jersey—Her situation is sufficient of itself to bespeak Compassion; but her Sufferings on Account of her Husband's Attachment to the Royal Cause entitle her not only to Protection, but to every Alleviation that can possible be afforded her; And what add to it still more is, that her Husband's Attachment did not proceed from Selfish Views, (his Property being large ample & extensive) but solely from his Loyalty & Principles. [Original at Colonial Williamsburg, used by permission.]

Presumably this letter had the desired effect but the family obviously remained in New York, for early in January 1778 Mrs. Barton contracted smallpox and died on the seventh without having seen her husband who was, of course, still a prisoner. The obituary says that Mrs. Barton had been "driven out with 7 small Children" who were after her death under "the Protection of a Person in Town, until their Father can be removed from his Durance." The *Minutes of the Council of Safety* do not specify the number of children to be deported, merely that all under age except Henry and John were to go. General Campbell clearly says there were five children and he is probably right. The sons who went must have been John who died aged fifteen and Joseph who died aged six, in the same month as their mother and probably from the same cause (*N. J. Arch.* 2.2.23), James, Anna, and Barrent. The obituary of John and Joseph (*New York Gazette* for 26 January 1778) mentions another son, name not stated, who had died since his father's imprisonment, perhaps a fiction, unless Anna was over age in 1777 and did not go. John, it will be noted, was excepted from the deportation order but must have accompanied his mother, as he died there, with her.

In all probability the death of his wife and sons enabled the lieutenant colonel to be released on parole at an early date. In the W. L. Clements Library there is preserved a memorial of Lieutenant Colonels Lawrence and Barton to Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, undated, which shows that these two officers had been denied forrage for their horses by Peter Paumier, Esq., Deputy Commissary General, and forrage money for 165 days by Colonel Sherriff, Deputy Quarter Master General, and in the memorial they pray the Commander in Chief that he will give them redress: they "Humbly Conceive the extraordinary Expenses which have really Accrued to them during their imprisonment may influence your Excellency to extend the Benefit of the Forrage Money, and the Forrage, to them, as Well as to others of his Majesty's officers." They were evidently having a hard time even in loyalist New York.

At what date the parole was ended by full exchange we do not know. The exchange negotiations had been begun even before Mrs. Barton's death, as we know from a letter of Sam'l H. Parsons at Sartford, Conn., to Governor Clinton, 26 December 1777, which tells us that Colonel Allison was to be exchanged for Colonel Barton (*Clinton Papers* 2.606 no. 972; also 2.717, no. 1051). At any rate, Colonel Barton must have been free of his parole before 29 July 1778, for on that day, because the number of battalions in the New Jersey volunteers were being reduced to two, Lieutenant Colonel Barton was transferred to the command of the 1st Battalion (document dated 21 October 1781—Audit Office 13, bundle 17). The date usually given for the transfer is 7 November 1777 but on that date the lieutenant colonel was still a prisoner. It is perhaps significant that, despite capture, Colonel Barton's military competence was in 1778 regarded with sufficient approval that when there was to be a reduction, he retained his commnd. Following the transfer, Colonel Barton signed one extant document with his command clearly indicated as the 1st Battalion: this, dated 7 July 1779 at "Camp, Staten Island," is a certificate testifying that "the bearer, Nancy Nevil, has been of great service in conducting Genl Burgoyne's men from Sussex to New York,"

and is addressed to Colonel Morris in New York—endorsed July 1779: "recommended by Col. Barton and Captain Andre," now preserved at Colonial Williamsburg, see *Report on American Manuscripts in the Possession of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (London 1904-9) 1.466=vol. 29, no. 97 of the documents now at Williamsburg. Colonel Barton's name also appears on "A Muster Roll of Capt. Daniel Cozen's Company of the 1st Battalion" dated 12 September 1778 (*N. Y. Gen. & Biogr. Rec.* 52.256). In a document dated at "Camp Elizth Town 20th June 1780," unsigned but clearly an official letter of the colonel prepared by a secretary pursuant to his orders, the battalion which he commanded is also marked the 1st. There are, however, three later letters, bearing dates, respectively, of 25 August, 9 September, and 15 September 1780, in which he personally signed as commandant of the 5th Battalion. The change to the original number cannot be regarded as inadvertence. Between 29 June 1780 and 25 August 1780 there must have been a transfer back to the original battalion number, doubtless motivated by new enrollments. *The Royal Gazette* for 10 Feb. 1779 (*N. J. Arch.* 2.3.77) carried a recruiting advertisement in Colonel Barton's name which shows that he then maintained a recruiting office at 330 Dock Street, New York, though the battalion was still on Staten Island.

Between June and August 1780 General Washington received a number of communications from one who signed himself "Amicus Reipublicae" giving the general intelligence concerning the British Army's positions and in several of these Colonel Barton's battalion is mentioned (Papers of George Washington, Library of Congress, vols. 140, 142, 152). In the same general period one Isaac Martin had been arrested by Tories but escaped, and these doings were blamed on Joseph Barton by Colonel John Hathorne (*Clinton Papers* 3.654, no. 1668). At New York also Joseph Barton signed certificates or endorsed petitions of destitute loyalists or their widows on 8 September 1781 (for Charles Richards), 12 June 1782 (for Thomas White), and in March and on 1 July 1783 (for Mary Keating, widow of Captain Garret Keating), *Report* cited above, 2.333,

524; 3.427; 4.186. On some date not known he was wounded, for Audit Office 13, bundle 17, contains a document dated 15 January 1782 stating that he had retired on a list of seconded officers because "of his bad state of health, from an old wound he receiv'd last War. His Constitution would undergo great Risque if he served in a warm Climate." The Prince of Wales' Regiment, to which he had apparently now been transferred, was being transported elsewhere.

Before that time, however, Colonel Barton had his share of the difficulties which now beset the whole British Army in North America. From "Camp, Elizth Town, 20th June 1780," he sent forward the unsigned memorandum now preserved in the Clements Library (quoted with permission):

Lieut Col. Barton being very desirous of having the whole of his Battn collected in the Field begs Leave to respresent [sic] to Major General Matthew that he has on different Commands [i.e. detached service] a Number of good Men who are anxious to join and might be serviceable in the Country (viz)—

At Sandy hook	1	2	2	40
On board a Galley at Princes Bay	0	0	1	11
battle Guard on Stan Ild			1	6
	1	2	4	57

besides Invalids doing Duty at the Hutts on Staten Island.

As to the Detachment sent with Lieut. Col. Ferguson has not returned agreeable to Expectation Col. Barton is the more desirous of obtaining an Order to have the above Detachmts of his Battn relieved by some other Corps. The 1st Battn N.J.V. having kept Sandy Hook & the other Ports for a long time past. [Original in the Clements Library, quoted by permission.]

On 25 August 1780 Colonel Barton, as Commandant of the 5th Battalion, reported to Captain McKenzey that he had complied with orders directing him "to form a Company of Light Infantry out of my Battalion agreeable to the Commander in Cheif's Orders" and had appointed Captain James Shaw and Ensigns Ried and Jouett to command it" [original in Clements Library, quoted by permission]. This report bears no indication of where it was written, but on the ninth of the next month, Colonel Barton addressed a letter from New York to Major Andrew [=Major John Andre, original in Clements Library, quoted with permission]:

I am greatly in want of Officers shall esteem it a particular favour if his Excellency the Commander in Cheif shall think proper to Appoint the Officers recommended for Commissions, having so many of my Officers now Prisoners, and now detaching a Light Company, that I have not Officers now left Sufficient to do Duty, by which the Service suffers. I beg you will remaind his Excellency the Commander in Cheif of the same.

The purpose of the letter was apparently not accomplished, for the Colonel wrote again from New York six days later to Major Andrew [Andre, original in the Clements Library, quoted with permission]:

General Skinner informs me he has stopt the Promotions, in my Battalion. I shall esteem it a Particular favour, if Major Andrew will inform me Genl Skinners motives for so doing, as he has rendered me none. If latter myself no Gentleman that I have recommended is or will be unworthy of the Commission for which they are Recommended, it is with real Concern I see it impossible for the Officers of my Battn to do the duty now required of them—I pray something may be done Respecting the Promotions sorry I am and asham'd to mention, the long and unhappy disputes with Genl Skinner near three years, and most heartily wish it was at an end—Captn Rook will in the course of this day or tomorrow inform Major Andrew of the unreasonable Demand made by Genl Skinner & my answer to it.

I pray an inquirey may be made if not settled Otherwise by such Officers British or Provincial as his excellency the Commander in Cheif may think Proper.

The allusion to an inquiry in the preceding may be the stimulus for the proceedings which took place at New York on Monday, 30 April 1781, or, it is possible that some sort of charges were actually made against Colonel Barton by person or persons unknown and that a hearing was held at some prior date at which these charges were aired. If so, the document has not been found, but the defense given by Colonel Barton on the date indicated has been preserved as no. 3470 of the documents now at Williamsburg—see *Report* cited above, 2.273. What is extant is a certified copy of the defense testimony, authenticated by one Jas. [S.?] Adye, D[eputy] Judge Advocate, and this copy was presented to the Commissioners at Halifax in 1786. The first witness was Brigadier General Oliver DeLancey (1718-1785) who, being sworn, deposed

that his first knowledge of Colonel Barton was in the Year 1758, when he was a Captain in Colonel Johnson's Battalion of Provincials, and he believes Pay Master also; that he was looked upon as an Useful Man, but he cannot speak as to his Military abilities, as they were more

employed in building a Fort at Fort Stanwix than in any of the duties of the Field; that his next and more intimate Connection with Lieutenant Colonel Barton, was about the Year 1763, when he (Brigadier General DeLancey) purchased some Lands in the Province of New Jersey, in which Business and till the Commencement of the present Rebellion, Lieutenant Colonel Barton acted as his Agent, and on all Occasions he had every reason to be satisfied with his Conduct as a Man of Integrity and consequently thought himself obliged to him; that he has always heard Lieut. Colo Barton reported to be warmly attached to the King and Constitution, tho' no particular Instances of his Loyalty came within his (General DeLancey's) own personal Knowledge.

The second witness, former Governor William Franklin, in his deposition goes somewhat further:

he [Barton] was a Member of the General Assembly of New Jersey, at the time he (the witness) was Governor of that Province, and he was always regarded as an honest Man and a Loyal Subject—On a particular Occasion, when a Letter of his (Governor Franklin's) was intercepted and laid before the House of Assembly, a motion was made to censure that Letter, and he understood that Colonel Barton was the only Member who opposed the passing of that Censure; that he early in the Rebellion took the side of the Crown, and at a time that he (Governor Franklin) was Prisoner in Connicticut and Colonel Barton in the same situation, he always understood that Colonel Barton held up such sentiments as became a Person attached to the side of Government. With respect to the particular Matters now alledged against Colonel Barton, he (the Governor Franklin) is totally unacquainted with them, nor had he any personal Intimacy of him.

The last sentence seems to prove that there had actually been some charges brought against the lieutenant colonel. The third witness was the Honorable Frederick Smyth, late Chief Justice of the Province of New Jersey, who deposed that

he had no particular personal Intimacy with Colo. Barton, that he never heard Colo. Barton spoke of but as on honest Man and a loyal Subject; he recollects that on a particular occasion in the House of Assembly of New Jersey, Colo. Barton was the only Man that stood forth on the side of Government, and this at a time when Government seemed particularly to want Loyal Supporters.

Finally, John Smyth, Esquire, Treasurer to the Vestry of [a church in] New York and late of the Province of New Jersey, deposed that

he had known Colonel Barton many Years and he was always esteemed to be an Honest Man, and a friend of Government; as to his Military Conduct, he knew nothing relative thereto.

If charges there were, they were probably on two scores, to judge from the testimony offered: (a) there was doubt as to

Barton's loyalty to the Crown, and (b) there was criticism of his military competence, but in any case, the inquiry cleared him of the charges, as he did not lose his commission.

In 1783 also Peter Hopkins, formerly a member of the New Jersey Assembly, and James Broderick of Sussex, both presumably loyalists, testified under oath as to the properties held by Joseph Barton in Sussex, this at a hearing before David Mathews, last colonial mayor of New York. Broderick was doubtless a member of the family which was even then closely associated with Barton's affairs and was later to be allied, after his death, through the marriage of Anna and Barrent Barton to Solomon and Abigail Broderick. Final judgment had been taken against Joseph Barton on an inquisition process for having joined the Army of the King of Great Britain on or before 5 June 1777—this was much later than the true date—and execution was had on the judgment in the May term of Court in 1779. A writ was issued to the six commissioners of the county to take and sell all property of Joseph Barton in Sussex (C-339). The record refers to a certain property which the commissioners were selling to Anthony Broderick (A-71). The Sussex properties, but not the Orange, were advertised by Joseph Gaston, Agent for the Sussex County, State of New Jersey, dated 14 September 1786. This appeared in the New Jersey Gazette for 2, 9, 16, and 23 October 1786—it also appeared in the New York paper published by Eleazer Oswald, date of publication not noted by Mr. Voge whose photostat has been copied for me. A copy of one of these found its way to Joseph Barton at Digby and he presented it at Halifax on 1 May 1786 in support of his claims (Audit Office 12, vol. 85, pt 6, fol. 19). The advertisement includes confiscated lands of Oliver DeLancey and others besides 37 of Joseph Barton's properties. The 37th item is particularly interesting:

> 37. A tract of land, containing 132 acres, situate in Hardiston, near Seeley's tavern, nearly 40 acres thereof is cleared meadow of the first quality, and a considerable quantity more may be made, with other valuable improvements thereon, now in the possession of Captain Richard Edsall.

The Edsall named was nephew of Colonel Barton, son of

Jacobus[3] (Richard[2], Samuel[1]) Edsall and his first wife Charlotte[4] (Benjamin[3], Joseph[2], Roger[1]) Barton, the colonel's sister.

A search of Sussex Deeds made in 1949 located a deed (D-168) in which Gaston conveyed to John Hinchman Dow a tract of land, acreage not specified, consideration £16/3, deed brought to county office 28 May 1800, filed 28 July 1800. This transaction is interesting, since Joseph Barton's son-in-law was named John Hinchman, relationship to John Hinchman Dow unknown to me, unless Hinchman was, perhaps, grandfather of Dow. Sussex Deeds C-284 refers to an article of agreement dated 13 July 1798 between Major Solomon Broderick of Montague, Sussex, an agent appointed by the State to collect debts due Joseph Barton, a fugitive, of the first part, and Peter Smith of Pleasant Valley same county, of the second part. By that date Barton was long dead and Broderick had become his son-in-law. The property involved in this agreement was a mill, consideration £3 per acre, acreage not specified here. An attached note says that in Joseph Barton's papers the following statement was found: "Old lawyer Ogden has got the agreement for the new mill—he and Morris will give a deed for same." This was the property bought during Robert Morris' minority—see above. From these post-bellum actions in Sussex County it would seem probable that the Broderick family were acting in the interests of Joseph Barton's estate and had been able, perhaps, to prevent the loss of all the properties ,at least in some cases. The fact that only one of the properties turned up in Sussex Deeds is probably to be explained by supposing that only in that case did the item get indexed under Barton's own name.

At the close of the war, the lieutenant colonel was retired on half pay, having served as a Provincial seven years and four as a British officer (War Office Index 5605 dated 12 June 1822 as of 1783). He appears as "Barton, Jos. (colonel)" in a "Muster Roll of Disbanded Officers, Discharged and Disbanded Soldiers and Loyalists, mustered at Digby, the 29th of May 1784," published by Judge A. W. Savary (*N. Y .Gen. & Biogr. Rec.* 34.118) with the first name misread as "Jas." The

colonel is credited with having two servants above the age of ten, total in the family, three; that is, the colonel was one and the two servants made three—there were no other members of the family present as yet in Nova Scotia. The servants were doubtless Negro slaves, since the parish registers of Trinity Church, Digby, are said to contain many entries concerning Negroes named Barton and there are now many persons of the name in a Negro setlement near Digby. Incidentally, the slaves were not manumitted or even mentioned in the will. Judge Savary also tells us that Colonel Barton's children "removed to Upper Canada, whence a descendant migrated to Australia, and became the ancestor of the present [1903] distinguished Prime Minister of that colony." This allusion to Sir Edmund Barton (1849-1920), first Prime Minister of Australia, is certainly an error, since Eir Edmund was son of William Barton and Mary Louise Wydah who, according to their grandson, Wilfred Barton, Esq., of Dr. Johnson's Buildings, The Temple, London E.C. 4, were married at St. George's Hanover Square, London, and never had any connection with Canada. Nor are any of the colonel's descendants known to have migrated to Upper Canada—those who survived returned, rather, to the United States.

In his attempt to get compensation for his losses, Colonel Barton appeared before Commissioner Jeremy Pemberton at Halifax on 1 May 1786, at which time he made a remarkable statement of the part he had played in the counter-Revolution that failed. We have already had occasion to cite this statement for the individual facts contained in it. With surprising reticence the claimant omits any mention of the deaths of his wife and sons—perhaps his emotion was too deep, or the presence of the new wife Elizabeth may have deterred him. Though it is not clear that his application for indemnity was acted upon before his death, he was not penniless, as the will clearly shows. It was stated by another claimant in testimony given at Quebec on 19 March 1788 that Joseph Barton had intended to support this claimant's testimony, but that early in February he had suffered a fall from his horse and broken his leg. A note in the

Trinity Church register at Digby in the hand of theRev.Roger Viets, rector, a loyalist from Connecticut, states the cause of death as the fall of a tree. This bare fact is embellished by Isaiah W. Wilson's *Geography and History of Digby County* (Halifax 1900) p. 370, as follows:

> The circumstances attending the demise of Joseph Barton, Lieutenant Colonel of a New Jersey Volunteer Regiment in the British service during [the] American Revolution, as described to the author [copyright 1893], were particularly distressing. Amidst the convivialities surrounding the bar-room of Reid's Hotel in Digby during a winter evening, the guests were discussing their work and prospects. The social glass had increased their self-confidence and ardour, while removing temporarily the caution so necessary in clearing forests. Lt.-Col. Barton though never having felled a tree, bravely insisted he could do so unaided, as expeditiously and successfully as the most experienced. Dr. Joseph Marvin expostulated, but Col. Barton eagerly laid a high wager to that effect. Not to be outdone, the Doctor complied. On following day, the colonel coolly chopped a lofty birch on his premises adjoining "Birch Place", which, alas, levelled him to the ground mortally wounded. He was buried February 18th, 1788. This speaks in thunder tones to the rash and thoughtless.

That Joseph Barton had never felled a tree before 1788 seems to me highly improbable, but if the wager had been made, Joseph Barton had once more bet on the losing side.

The will was signed on 15 February 1788 and a codicil was added thereto on the next day, while the burial is dated by the Rev. Mr. Viets as having taken place, as Wilson says, on the 18th. The will bequeaths to the eldest son Benjamin, place of residence not stated, the sum of £3 Halifax currency, "which I consider with what he hath already received from me to be his full share and proportion of my estate." Benjamin had, indeed, received a property in Sussex before the Revolution, as his father had testified on 1 May 1786. To the beloved wife Elizabeth Barton, he left "all the Estate bequeathed to her by her deceased Father Doctor William Brown John, both Real and personal, Situate, lying and being in the State of New York, together with all the household furniture in the house wherein I now dwell, to be and remain to her and her heirs and assigns forever. I also Will and direct that as long as my said Wife shall incline to stay or Reside in the province of Nova Scotia that she shall have an Receive to her own use all

the Rents, Issues and proffits of the house in which I live and the lots of Land in the Town plott of Digby and no longer than she shall Reside in the said Province." To his sons Henry and James: "all the lands they conveyed to me in the Province of New Brunswick as a security for a Certain Sum of money I paid for them, to be and Remain to them their heirs and assigns for ever, share and share alike, in full confidence that their future good behavior will merit this my bequqest." Proceeds of the residue were to be used by executors to provide for support and education of son Barrent who, upon reaching his majority, was to receive a sum equal to the shares of sons Henry and James. Daughter Anna was to receive, when Barrent came of age, a sum sufficient to make her equal with three sons Henry, James, and Barrent, and the remainder was to be divided equally between the four children named. Executors were to be the widow, friends Thomas Milledge, Esq., and the Rev. Roger Viets; witnesses: Christian Tobias, John Grigg, James Wilmot. On the day following the signing of the will, the 16th, the testator signed a codicil witnessed by the same men, which granted powers to the executors to sell a plot of 200 acres out of 800 acres fronting on St. Mary's Bay in order to prevent the entire tract from being forfeited. Wilson (*op. cit.* p. 84 f.) who says that Colonel Barton had on 9 November 1784 received of the Dawkins Grant Lots 18-20 in Block B, also mentions the 800 acres (p. 68) in Bloomfield conveyed to Barton on 21 June 1787 and sold to Richard Annaburg on 28 March 1794, recorded 31 March 1794 at Weymouth, Nova Scotia. Default of payment of one farthing per acre would void the titles and this is doubtless the reason for the provision in the codicil. The codicil further bequeaths to James lots 21-22 containing about 200 acres fronting on the north side of St. Mary's Bay and on the east a tract of land known as the French Settlements, as well as a gold watch, "of a token of my affection for him." Also, to Barrent, "my Gold Stock Buckel as a token of my affection for him, the same to be delivered whenever the executors think proper"; also to Barrent, the residue of the 800 acres aforesaid which may be left

unsold, at the age of twenty-one. (The latter land was sold by Barrent Barton in 1801, recorded at Weymouth.) Should Barrent not attain his majority, this to be divided equally between Henry, James, and Anna.

The widow did not serve as executrix, though there is no paper at Annapolis Royal waiving her right, the will being probated for the first time at that town on 24 April 1788; secondly, at New York on 11 February 1789, when a certified copy of the will was presented there for probate, by whom is unknown unless William Wickham, of New York, who was appointed by the court to act for Milledge and Viets in the absence overseas. No probate was made in New Jersey until after the death of Henry in 1794 when letters testamentary were granted in Sussex to Solomon Broderick, husband of Anna Barton, with Charles Pemberton as fellow-bondsman (Lib. 35, p. 178, file 594S, 2 December 1794). Pemberton, born in England, died 17 December 1817, married a Rohrbach, was sheriff in Sussex in 1797 and 1803 and had no issue — it is probable that he was not related to the Bartons in any way. Apparently, so far as the Sussex authorities were concerned, the estate of Joseph Barton was intestate, for no copy of the will is recorded there.

E. Alfred Jones, author of the standard study of New Jersey loyalists (*Coll. N. J. Hist. Soc.* 10, p. 23) says that "Col. Barton was on a list of seconded officers in the Prince of Wales' American Volunteers from 1792 on." The year is incorrect, for it is really from 25 October 1783 (Public Records Office, Index 5605, 12 June 1822 but as of 1783, and Index 5606, undated but used as a current pension list as late as 1831, Joseph Barton's name never crossed off at death, as is the case with other names). Half-pay for a lieutenant-colonel was 10/- per diem, so from 25 October 1783 to 15 February 1788, he had half-pay for 1573 days or about £786/10/0, depending on which day he actually died. Audit Office 12, vol. 63, pp. 35 f., repeated vol. 109, fol. 92, no. 956, action on claims, dated 4 May 1786, shows that he was allowed the sum of £1,814 as compensation for £3,955/6 property lost, "provided that he

submit proof of confiscation and sale. This he apparently did by furnishing the sheet from the newspaper already mentioned (Audit Office vol. 85, pt 6, fol. 19). He had claimed also irrecoverable debts in the amount of £1871/12/5 for which he was allowed nothing. The final item in the accounting came when the heirs of Joseph Barton were given 1250 acres in the Digby Grant of 29 January 1801, but this grant was merely a confirmation, for legal reasons, of a grant made earlier. The New York Loyalist Transcripts (vol. 11, pp. 98 f.) show that at an unknown date payment on claim no. 956 had been made in the sum of £725/12, with an unpaid balance of £1088/8. If Barton actually received the total allowed, he fared better than Oliver DeLancey who got only about 32 percent of his claim, whereas Barton received about 45 percent of his.

The widow ultimately returned to New York, as has been stated above, where she died in 1828. James, Anna, and Barrent, certainly returned to New Jersey, all three marrying in this country afterwards. Perhaps Henry came also, though this is not certain. The only permanent memorial to Joseph Barton in Nova Scotia is the small village near Digby which even today bears his name (Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 7). A search was made in 1950 for the grave but was unsuccessful in locating it.

CH: 9 (Barton) if there were three marriages, the three eldest were probably children of the first wife, the rest by the second; if there were but two marriages, all are children of the first wife Anna.

i. Benjamin[6], b. 6 Feb. 1750, d. 27 Oct. 1830 at Town of Cambria, Niagara County, N.Y. Married, probably, (1) ...., perhaps Annin, before 1770; (2) in 1772 or 1773 Hannah Hetzel who died shortly before her husband. Three sons, several daughters, the sons' descendants traced.

ii. Henry, b. 1755 or earlier, d. 1794, mar. Mary ..... At least one son.

iii. daughter, probably named Charlotte, mar. before 1771,

Dr. John Hinchman who d. 1794, she obviously before 1788. Probably two children.

iv. John, b. 1762, d. January 1778 in New York City.

v. James, b. 1763, d. 1852, mar. 1797 Sarah Biddis; resided 1797-1852, with intervals, at present Milford, Pike County, Penn'a. Three daughters.

vi. Anna, b. before 1767, of age 1788, mar. 11 September 1790, in Sussex, Major Solomon Broderick. Descendants not traced.

vii. Joseph, b. 1771, d. January 1778 in New York City.

viii. son, name unknown, perhaps fictitious, d. between August 1777 and January 1778.

ix. Barrent, b. between 1767 and 1777, living 1802, mar. 19 March 1794 in Sussex Abigail Broderick. No further trace.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN NEW JERSEY: PLANNING THE MORRIS CANAL

By H. Jerome Cranmer, *Drew University*

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> "Of [the] movement for improved roads, canals, and later railroads, the conspicuous features down to the Civil War were the extent of government activity and the extraordinary intermingling of public and private enterprise. The major canals were built either by state action, as in the great case of the Erie Canal, or with large public aid from state, local, and federal authorities."[1]

[1]Carter Goodrich, "Public Spirit and American Improvements," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, v. 92, no. 4 (1948), p. 305.

The provision of adequate transportation facilities early was recognized as essential to America's economic development and the internal improvements movement of the 1820's and 1830's came in response to this need. The task was complicated, however, by conditions peculiar to an undeveloped region only recently emerged from a colonial status, conditions which made government action imperative. Thus the vast majority of projects were undertaken by governments, either directly or through mixed enterprise. Nearly every state participated in the principal projects within its borders by providing the funds and making the improvement a State enterprise, by contributing significantly to the stock of a mixed corporation or by granting loan funds or the use of its credit to a private company.[2]

To this rule of government participation the State of New Jersey provides a notable exception. In this era of direct government action in the development of transportation facilities, when New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and virtually all other states, were playing a determinant role in internal improvements, New Jersey's turnpikes, bridges, canals and railways were exclusively the products of private enterprise. At no time did the government of New Jersey contribute to the projects within her borders.[3] It will be the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that New Jersey provides an exception more apparent than real, that although her Legislature made no subscription to stock, allowed no grant of the State's credit, and contributed no financial aid whatsoever, in the case of her

[2]G. S. Callender, "The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprise of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* XVII (1902-1903), pp. 112-113.

[3]A previous exception to this "hands-off" policy had been the Newark Turnpike Company whose 1804 charter contained provision for a legislative subscription to stock. In 1834 the Legislature authorized the exchange of this stock for shares in the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company. *N.J. Laws,* 29 Sess., 1 Sit. (1804), p. 419 and *N.J. Laws,* 58 Sess., 2 Sit. (1834), pp. 163-4. Later, in order to protect her option to purchase additional shares in the company, the State's Legislature granted a $100,000 loan to the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company. *N.J. Laws,* 61 Sess., 2 Sit. (1837), p. 91. See also John W. Cadman, *The Corporation in New Jersey: Business and Politics* 1791-1875 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 47, 60, 60n, 266 and 291.

principal improvement of the 1820's at least the Legislature did play a decisive role in the accomplishment of the project.

I

The era of canal building found its principal *raison* in the development of the West and the necessity for commercial highways between the settled Atlantic seaboard and the frontier beyond the Appalachians. But if the canal mania's general basis lay in the need for transportation connections, its specific inspiration came from the brilliant success of New York State with the Erie Canal. One New Jersey editor indicated his admiration and envy in quite glowing phrases.

> The astonishing success which has attended the structure of Canals in the State of New York—the public benefits resulting from a safe and easy communication to the first commercial mart in our country—and the rich harvest which the State anticipates as the reward of its enterprise, has prostrated mountains into mole-hills, and given a universal tone to internal improvements. The impulse is sensibly felt in Pennsylvania and is operating like an invisible charm in the States of Ohio, Connecticut and Massachusetts. New Jersey is catching the flame—her slumbering Samsons are beginning to awake—and the period is at hand when something efficient and in earnest will be done.[4]

Thus both necessity and example imperiously urged action in the development of transportation.

However, neither need nor inspiration serve to explain the almost universal dependence upon State rather than private enterprise in accomplishing the task. This has been ascribed to the particular conditions which confronted the entrepreneur seeking investors to fill his stock subscription books—great demand for capital, meagre supplies of domestic savings, and risk.[5] The opening of the West after the War of 1812 created tremendous investment opportunities having an almost insati-

[4] *Sentinel of Freedom,* Newark, N.J., August 13, 1822.
[5] Callender, *op. cit., passim.*

able demand for capital. Speculative opportunities such as operations in land, insurance and banking provided the prospect of liberal returns, as did commercial activity either with the West or in export. The less speculative opportunities in internal improvements did not afford equally remunerative profit prospects.

That the limited volume of domestic accumulation was inadequate to meet the needs of transportation development is evident from New Jersey's prior experience with companies chartered for the Delaware-Raritan project. Suggested at least as early as 1774, the route first became the object of a corporate charter in 1796. Funds subscribed proved to be inadequate to complete the proposed system of slack water navigation and the project was soon abandoned.[6] Eight years later the New Jersey Navigation Company took up the plan for a slack water system but was unable to obtain subscriptions for its capital stock of $100,000 and once again the project was abandoned.[7] Agitation for the route continued, however, and in 1816 the Legislature appointed a commission to investigate. Despite a very favorable report the Legislature failed to respond since it felt that the cost would be prohibitive.[8] In 1820 the New Jersey Delaware and Raritan Canal Company was granted a charter and authorized to issue $800,000 worth of stock for the construction of a nine-foot ship canal. As on previous occasions, public response was slight and the company never was formed.[9] Thus New Jersey's experience with canals paralleled that of other states that had placed their major internal improvement projects in the hands of private companies. Invariably such companies failed to attract the necessary stock subscriptions.

Where America lacked capital for its opportunities, England

[6]James Ewing to the Secretary of the Treasury (Albert Gallatin), November 11, 1807. *American State Papers,* Class X, Miscellaneous, I, p. 748.

[7]Albert Gallatin, "Report on Roads and Canals," 1808, *American State Papers,* Class X, Miscellaneous, I, p. 726.

[8]Report of Commissioners (Trenton, 1817).

[9]Wheaton J. Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939, p. 254.

lacked opportunities for its capital. London's huge surplus funds were seeking investment outlets overseas. However, British investors seemed unwilling to risk their funds in enterprises operated by relatively unknown entrepreneurs whose financial acumen had yet to be proved, whose resources were not sufficient to provide any guarantee in case of failure, and, most significantly, whose enterprises were some three thousand miles away. To reduce risk to bearable proportions the foreign investor needed the guarantee of some entity in whom he could have confidence. In the absence of large, reputable banking houses the only such agency was the State. For this reason only public securities or securities of companies having public affiliation were certain of finding a market in London. There was little dealing in the securities of private American companies; British investments were almost exclusively in public securities. Thus only public or semi-public enterprises were able to obtain the necessary stock subscription since only they could command the respect and confidence of large English capital owners.[10]

In spite of this situation New Jersey chose private enterprise for the accomplishment of her principal project of the 1820's: the Morris Canal. Wherein lay New Jersey's uniqueness? What peculiar forces or conditions enabled her Legislature to provide for this elaborate task of internal improvement without resort to State financial aid?

II

For the most part the State of New Jersey consists of level lowlands; seventy-five percent of its area lies less than four hundred feet above sea level. Upon the remainder, the northwest quarter of the State, rise the Appalachian Highlands, a series of sharp ridges running generally from northeast to southwest across the State. The principal rivers, the Raritan and the Passaic, have their headwaters on these heights and fall some one thousand feet in the thirty miles between their origins and tidewater. Thus abundant sites for mills and small, water-powered manufacturing plants are provided in northwestern New Jersey.

In addition to water-power, the principal natural resources

of the region had been iron ore and heavy stands of virgin forest. This combination of water-power, iron ore and timber resulted in the early appearance of iron manufacture. Early in the colonial period iron makers pushed into the mountains and set up forges and furnaces along the narrow streams. The pioneers in the settlement of this portion of the State were manufacturers rather than agriculturists. "The forge was uniformly the precursor of the farm."[11] The iron master, in providing fuel and charcoal for his operations, cleared great tracts of land, which, once stripped of timber, were subdivided among small-scale farmers. As the forests were cleared the iron makers were forced to retire to remote, rough and almost inaccesible regions where the cost of transportation of the ores and of the metal to market rendered their operations unprofitable. Where some eighty-one forges and twelve furnaces had flourished, by 1820 the number had been reduced to fifty and three, respectively. Those that remained in operation were hampered by scarcity of fuel and increasing transportation costs.[12]

The annual cost of moving processed iron to market was estimated to be $164,462, nearly twenty per cent of value.[13]

The northwest counties of New Jersey were largely agricultural in 1820; farming was overwhelmingly the principal occupation. Wheat, corn, oats; apples, peaches, pears; cider, brandy, "applejack"; butter, cheese and meat; firewood and timber far exceeded in value the products of forge and furnace. Agricultural surpluses were hauled overland by wagon ultimately reaching markets in New York by schooner. Freighting costs for this land and water journey were heavy, amounting to twenty or twenty-five per cent of value.[14] Moreover, competition of produce from upstate New York was beginning to be felt in New York City markets. A near-century of intense

[10]Callendar, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
[11]Thomas F. Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey*, (Trenton, N.J., 1834) p. 23.
[12]Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[13]Appendix "a", *Petition of a Committee of Residents of Morris County to the Legislature of the State of New Jersey*, November 6, 1822.
[14]*Ibid.*

cultivation without the benefit of fertilizer had had disastrous effects on soil productivity. New Jersey farmers were feeling the pinch.[15]

The idea of a canal across the State from the Passaic to the Delaware was first presented by the President of the Morris County Agricultural Society in a series of letters which appeared in the newspapers of the region during the summer of 1822. Tremendous enthusiasm was generated for the project; meetings were held, committees formed, communications written, estimates made. In November a petition was presented to the Legislature for an appropriation for a canal survey.[16] The Legislature responded by appointing a commission to survey the route, estimate the cost and investigate the mineral resources which such a canal might be expected to develop. The sum of $2,000 was appropriated to defray the expenses of the survey.[17]

The Canal Commissioners submitted their report to the Legislature in November of 1823. In preparing their document they had considered the proposed canal from two different points of view; first, as a "project of internal improvement" and then as a "measure of finance alone." A favorable vista from either of these positions would justify construction of the canal by the State. Regarding its function in economic development, the Commissioners asserted that the prosperity which the canal would bring to the northern region was of itself a sufficient motive to "incite its execution as a public concern" regardless of its fiscal advantages. However, since it would also create a vast revenue, "the enterprise will then appear worthy to call forth the highest efforts of the State."[18] The canal would bring anthracite coal to the iron industry and

[15] *Palladium of Liberty*, Morristown, N. J., December 28, 1820.

[16] *Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*, 47th Session, 1822, p. 64.

[17] *Acts of the 47th General Assembly . . . New Jersey, Public Acts*, November 15, 1822.

[18] *Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, for the purpose of exploring the route of a Canal to unite the river, Delaware, near Easton, with the Passaic, near Newark.* Morris-Town, printed by Jacob Mann, 1823. Citew below as *Report of Commissioners.*

would provide cheap transportation for its products to market; it would bring limestone and "plaister" to the worn-out soil of the region and would reduce transportation costs for agricultural produce; it would provide a source of revenue to the State which would make public taxation forever unnecessary.[19]

The report constituted a plan for regional economic development centered around transportation. In describing a country in which industry will flourish, the Commissioners sum up the conditions of economic progress. Such a country

> . . . must abound in unwrought materials, it must be plentifully supplied with provisions at the cheapest prices; it must contain water powers to set machinery in motion, and adequate accommodations as to fuel must exist; finally it must be situated within convenient access to an extensive market. If the canal be made, we are acquainted with no scite [sic] so propitious as New Jersey, nor one in which the above described requisites are so eminently combined.[20]

But the canal would not vitalize manufacturing only; it would bring to agriculture the benefits of cheap fertilizers for exhausted soils, of increased local demand by industrial communities, of access to the markets of New York and Philadelphia, of increased land values, and:

> We may here mention as a large increase of freight to the canal, of profit to the farmer, and of good morals to the community, that apples and cider would be exported instead of being converted into ardent spirits. The land carriage renders it at present necessary to have recourse to distilling as the only means of conveying the produce of our orchards to market.[21]

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 16. "Aristides," writing in the *Palladium* had wondered "How much would we gain by the carriage of our cider to New York, instead of being obliged to distil it into poison; a poison which is now beginning to be made so copiously at New Orleans, that we must in a very few years be under sold and driven out of every market . . . we may cut down half our orchards, or what is much worse, be obliged to drink all our whiskey ourselves." *Palladium of Liberty,* September 5, 1822.

Moreover, the New York canals soon would bring to that city the products of the vast, fertile farmlands of the West, and New Jersey farmers, with high-priced and exhausted lands, would be forced to compete with the "remotest settlers of the new countries, living on a virgin soil, purchased under eight dollars an acre."

> Calamity and ruin must ensue, both to land holders and farmers, unless the wisdom of our Legislature adopt some means to avert this impending evil; nor do we see any measure which, in every point of view, would so effectually secure the prosperity of all classes of the people, as the plan now under discussion.[22]

Regarding the revenue of the canal, the Commissioners pointed out that since coal from the Lehigh Valley would provide the principal income, it had been considered essential to examine "the quality of that fuel, the facility with which it could be conducted hither, the probable cost, the quantity and nature of the supply." To all of these questions the Report itself and the appended documents gave favorable reply.[23] The profit prospects of the canal were certain; the Report cited the example of fifteen English canals, comparing the par value and present market value of their stock and indicating the annual yield on the investment. Current prices were from 20% to 900% above par. Annual dividends ranged from 8% to 119% of investment and averaged 32%.[24]

Particular interest attaches to the discussion of the agency by which the canal was to be accomplished. The Report asked: "Is the State to call forth its energies to the task, or shall it be consigned to a chartered company?" New Jersey would either follow the example of New York and make public works a State concern or it would establish "the pernicious, the deadly principle of confiding the vital interests of our country to the guardianship of men, whose only view can be pecuniary advantage to themselves." He who controls the source of public

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[23] *Report of Commissioners* and Appendices, *passim.*
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

prosperity is master of the State, and the creation of a private corporation upon which industry would depend risked the hazard of creating "an aristocratic government veiled under the forms of republican administration." "Accumulation of money is the sole motive of a chartered company; the extension of industry and happiness is the only legitimate object of a Legislature." Therefore, even if its prospective revenue were insufficient, accomplishment of the measure by the State was justified on the grounds of public utility. However, since the profits would be sufficient and the benefits to the community great, there could be no reason for the State's not undertaking the canal.[25]

III

When the 49th General Assembly convened on October 27th, 1824, the Morris Canal came early to its attention. But Morris was not the only internal improvement to be considered. The Legislature had before it the Delaware and Raritan project. Each canal considered the other a rival; each had its backers in the Legislature. Both were opposed by a third element, representatives from agricultural South Jersey, hostile to any form of State action in internal improvements. Thus there existed three factions in the 49th General Assembly. The Morris group, controlling some 13 votes, sought a bill which would authorize its project as a State enterprise. The Raritan group with 10 votes opposed Morris, fearing that if the Legislature undertook the northern waterway as a State enterprise, it would be unwilling to grant a charter for a competing route. The southern agricultural group, which mustered 18 votes at the outset, opposed Morris as a State project, fearing that its cost would occasion increased land taxes. This group protested that the southern farmer would be called upon to pay for a project which could in no way benefit him.

In the face of this combination of Raritan and South Jersey forces Morris clearly stood no chance of being undertaken by the State. A charter probably could be obtained for a private

[25] *Ibid.*

company, but there was no reason to hope that it could escape the fate of all previous private companies for canal construction chartered in New Jersey, inadequate stock subscription. Blocked by political opposition as a state enterprise, doomed by capital shortage as a private one, Morris' prospects seemed dismal indeed.

The *deux ex machina* of the piece had been lurking about the legislative corridors and cloakrooms since the opening of the session. The 49th Legislature had been, throughout its two months' session, beset by petitioners for bank charters. On the day of its convening, petitions were received for the creation of the Jersey Flour Manufacturing Company "with banking privileges" and from the Salem Steam Mill and Banking Company for an amendment of its charter to increase its banking privileges. The following day a number of inhabitants of New Brunswick petitioned for a charter for an insurance company "with banking privileges." Within two weeks petitions and memorials had been presented for the Bank of New Brunswick, for the Jersey Lombard and Protection Company, for a "bank at Horsinus in Bergen County," for the Jersey Loan and Insurance Company, for the incorporation of a "steam-boat ferry company with banking privileges at Weehawk on the Hudson," for a steam-boat ferry company with banking privileges in Monmouth County and for the Bergen County Bank in Jersey City. On November 10 a resolution was introduced calling for the creation of a standing committee on applications for banks to "enquire into their expediency." The Legislature continued to be flooded with such petitions and also with memorials against the creation of banks. John C. Stevens and Robert L. Stevens may have had more than a fear of "the frightful accumulation of banks" when, as the proprietors of the Hoboken Ferry, they remonstrated against the Weehawk Ferry Company With Banking Privileges. Bills were reported for the creation of the Powles Hook Bank, the Monmouth Banking Company, the Jersey Lombard and Protection Com-

pany, the Jackson Bank, and many more.[26] Most of these applications were rejected in committee; many of those which were approved by committee and on which bills were reported were defeated by the Legislature. Of the multitude of petitions only five banking companies were created. However, there seemed no lack of private funds for banking incorporations.

The Legislature seized upon this "bank mania" as a solution to the problem of the Morris Canal. Why not create a single company for both purposes? If the petitioners were eager to invest in a speculative banking enterprise, why not temporarily divert that enthusiasm into more productive channels? Why not create a canal company with banking privileges? The State need take no active part in such an enterprise, yet there should be no lack of private funds for investment in it. The eminently desirable public task would be accomplished entirely by private contributions to stock!

Thus was created the Morris Canal and Banking Company in December, 1824. The southern agricultural interests had little objection so long as no State aid was granted, while the Raritan group now saw the creation of a private company for internal improvement as a precedent which the mid-Jersey route might hope to repeat.

The charter of the Morris Canal and Banking Company represented an attempt by the Legislature to grant as liberal a charter as possible in order to encourage private venture capi-

[26]As of December 10 the list of business before the Council and Assembly included acts to incorporate:

1. an insurance company with banking privileges at New Brunswick;
2. the Franklin Bank of New Jersey at Jersey City;
3. the Weehawk Ferry with banking privileges;
4. the Rahway Banking and Insurance Company;
5. the Monmouth Bank;
6. the People's Bank of Paterson;
7. the Farmers and Mechanics Banking and Insurance Company;
8. the New Jersey State Canal Company (provision for $6,000,000 bank capital).

Later were introduced bills for:

9. the Orange Banking Company;
10. the LaFayette Banking Company;
11. the Bergen County Bank.

Votes and Proceedings, 49th General Assembly, passim.

tal, consistent with retaining as great control as possible over the company in its canal operations. The company was authorizzed to issue ten thousand shares at $100 a share for canal purposes. If necessary for canal construction, this one million capitalization could be increased by an additional $500,000. Article XIV provided for the right of the company to issue banknotes.

> . . . for the encouragement of so great an undertaking as the erection of said canal, and in some measure to induce capitalists and others to subscribe to the same, it shall be lawful for the said company [to issue stock] for the purpose of banking operations, but under the following conditions, limitations, and restrictions.[27]

An expenditure of $200,000 upon the construction of the canal entitled the company to call upon the stockholders for subscription to an equal amount of bank stock. For each additional $200,000 spent on the canal a like amount of bank stock could be sold. The maximum of bank stock which could be sold was one million dollars. Thus only after actual expenditures upon construction could the company enjoy its banking privileges.

The company was granted other valuable rights and privileges by the charter. It was exempt from all taxes; it had the right to eminent domain; it had the right to necessary materials on adjacent lands; it could establish its own tolls and rates; it was granted a monopoly. The charter, however, reserved certain rights to the Legislature. It might at any time appoint a commission to fix and regulate tolls; the grant of banking privileges was limited to a period of thirty-one years; at the end of ninety-nine years the State might purchase the canal at a "fair value". If it did not, at the end of fifty years more the canal would automatically become "the sole property of the state."

As a result of the powerful pressure for internal improvements and for banking companies the 49th Legislature was the

[27] *Morris Canal Charter*, p. 12.

occasion for lobbying activities and pressure politics unparalleled in New Jersey's prior experience. A contemporary editor pointed out that

> Although it is apparent that the State of New Jersey . . . has endeavoured to be every way guarded, in not ceding important privileges, and binding the companies under sundry restrictions, yet it is unquestionably true, that the managers in this business have completely put the screws upon the state; and when we take into consideration the admirable tact, address and undermining talent of our lobby, in the halls of the New-Jersey Legislature, we shall not be surprised at the issue.[28]

This was but the introduction to a phenomenon to which the State seems to have had a unique affinity in her later history. Particularly obnoxious at this time were the host of applicants for banks. The Legislature became so disgusted with bank lobbies that it undertook an investigation of their activities. However, nothing significant came of the inquiry and the Assembly did not take further action. The Trenton *Federalist* was of the opinion that this had been one of the most "irksome and laborious" sessions for many years.

> . . . The numerous applications for incorporations, (principally for banks) the urgent, persevering solicitations of applicants, and the importunity of *agents,* has rendered the session a most harassing and perplexing one to most of the members.[29]

The Newark *Sentinel of Freedom* seemed relieved that

> *The Legislature of New Jersey,* it is expected, will rise the latter end of this week. Such has been the importunity for private incorporations, that we have little doubt the Legislators themselves are as solicitous to clear out from the vexatious din of applicants, as the people are to welcome them to their homes and their fire-sides.

It will be seen that there has been some little vacillating

[28] *Sentinel of Freedom,* February 8, 1825.
[29] *Trenton Federalist,* January 3, 1824.

among the members in relaxation to monied incorporations—one day voting a decisive negative—and the next re-considering. Most of these applications however are disposed of; and we presume satisfactorily to the public at large—though not to the entire approbation of the lobby members.[80]

IV

The principal determinants of New Jersey's policy in creating the Morris Canal were: the utility of the waterway to the community; the inability of private enterprise to secure the necessary capital; and the adamant opposition of certain political groups to state action in internal improvement. The public benefit of the improvement was not questioned; the Legislature was agreed that it was an eminently desirable project. However, it did not seem likely that as a canal measure alone it could interest sufficient investors, so that the mere creation of a corporation having the right to construct a canal would not accomplish the purpose. On the other hand, as we have seen, the combination of southern agricultural counties with the proponents of the Delaware and Raritan and Delaware Improvement projects prevented State action. Thus as a canal only the measure seemed doomed to failure since neither the State nor private enterprise would be willing to undertake it.

It is possible that the Morris Canal would never have been undertaken had it not been for the tremendous enthusiasm for banking companies which was then sweeping New Jersey. The original canal party joined with the banking lobby to overcome the opposition in the Legislature. The canal proponents seized upon the bank mania as a means of accomplishing their purpose of acquiring a canal charter. Conversely, it must be admitted that the bank lobby did indeed "put the screws upon the state" and used the enthusiasm for internal improvements as a means of extracting a bank charter. By creating a private corporation the Legislature avoided risk and thus provided a means satisfactory to the opposition; by granting banking priv-

[80] *Sentinel of Freedom*, December 21, 1824.

ileges it ensured an ample private subscription to stock. Morris' first president saw the canal as a "high road . . . purchased by Banking and other liberal privileges conceded to the Company."[31]

When subscription books were officially opened at Jersey City the following May the one million dollar capitalization of Morris was over-subscribed by fourteen to one.[32] Over-subscription was the common experience of the banking enterprises chartered by the 49th Legislature.[33] On the other hand, the Orange and Sussex Canal, chartered in 1822, and the Delaware and Raritan Company, lacking the banking attraction, were unable to fill their books and failed. The Orange and Sussex was finally abandoned; the Raritan was completed only after another company had been chartered nearly a decade later.

The bank mania opportunity presented itself for only a very brief period in New Jersey. The impulse was imported from the commercial centers of New York and Philadelphia and made itself manifest in the multitude of applications for charters in 1823 and 1824. However, as Hezekiah Niles had predicted, there was "a smash." By 1826 many of the newly created banks had closed their doors for reorganization or liquidation and the speculative boom in banks was over. This was particularly evident in the price of Morris stocks. Oversubscribed in 1825 with would-be investors clamoring for admission and its shares selling well above par, within a year the Company held 5808 of its own shares which had been forfeited by the original subscribers. Of the $335,360.00 due on shares subscribed and not forfeited (80% per $100 share on 4192 shares) $108,791.00 had been paid in promissory notes or remained unpaid.[34] The company was unable to sell its treasury stock even at the low current market price.

[31]Address of George P. McCulloch to the Morris County Agricultural Society, October 28, 1825. *Palladium of Liberty,* November 3, 1825.

[32]*Palladium of Liberty,* May 5, 1825.

[33]The subscription books of the Monmouth Bank, opened on March 14th, were oversubscribed some forty times—principally by citizens of New York. *Palladium of Liberty,* April 7, 1825.

[34]Report of Finance Committee to Stockholders of the Morris Canal and Banking Company, September 21, 1826. *Palladium of Liberty,* September 23, 1826.

By predicating the enjoyment of banking operations upon actual canal expenditures the Legislature ensured the construction of the canal. By September, 1826 the Company had spent $233,239.12 on the canal and had just begun issuing notes, which amounted to $17,725.00. These notes were used in the payment of contractors for work performed on construction.[35]

By holding out the promise of speculative banking profit New Jersey was able to attract private capital to invest in its northern internal improvement and was by this means able to ensure its accomplishment without resort to public investment or mixed enterprise. Thus it was only the bank mania of 1823-24 that enabled New Jersey to place her reliance upon private enterprise for her major internal improvement of the early canal period.

All contemporary advice and experience militated against the creation of an independent company. Previous private companies chartered for internal improvement had met with failure due largely to their inability to acquire the necessary capital. The success of the Erie Canal as a public enterprise provided an outstanding example often brought to the attention of the legislators. The recommendations of all experts consulted and commissioners retained were for public action. Nor were the public benefits of the canal doubted; at no time did the developmental value of the project come into serious question. The Legislature was reluctant to place so important and politically powerful a project in the hands of private enterprise; there was considerable fear of monied corporations, particularly in New Jersey where such companies seemed inevitably to end up in the control of out-of-state financial interests of New York or Philadelphia. Thus had its decision been made up on the basis of advice received or of previous experience, the Legislature must have chosen to accomplish the project itself and by this means ensure construction and retain control.

Nor did New Jersey refrain from direct action in internal improvement because of any ideological scruples of a *laissez-*

[35] *Ibid.*

faire nature; the moral right of the State to undertake developmental projects was not questioned. No fact emerges with more certainty from this study of the planning of the Morris Canal than that throughout the long course of discussion and debate the right of the State to undertake it as a public measure was not questioned. Opposition arguments made no mention of such an objection; the proponents of the canal never found it necessary to defend against it. The question at issue was not whether the State had the right to undertake the canal, but whether it was expedient for it to do so in this particular case. Clearly the mid-nineteenth century reaction against government intervention had not yet set in. Private capital had not become adequate to the task of internal improvement, hence government action was not impatiently and categorically rejected as an infringement of the rights of free enterprise but was eagerly accepted as essential to the economic developmnt of a capital-short nation. Indeed, ideologically, the State seems to have been preferred to the monied corporation as an agent for the accomplishment of public tasks; big business was feared more than big government.

The problem of attracting private capital to public purposes was faced by other governments and met in other ways. New York made her project a State enterprise. Virginia primed the pump with a two-fifths contribution by the State; private funds made up the remainder. The result was a mixed enterprise calculated to evoke the maximum of private by a minimum of public investment. Later the Federal Government used the land grant to accomplish the railroads to the West. New Jersey granted bank rights. There were differences in the plans, but in each case the action of the State was planned to accomplish what was seen to be a public task. Though it can by no means be considered subtle, of the means chosen by governments for the accomplishment of public purposes New Jersey's plan did represent the most indirect and did involve the least amount of risk to the State. As such it must be regarded as an instance of government planning of internal improvement.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO NIAGARA FALLS, MONTREAL, LAKE CHAMPLAIN, &C.

By George Wurts, Newark

The author of this journal was born in Easton, Pa., September 13, 1829. He subsequently moved to Newark and later to Paterson. At the time of his journey, he was a young man of twenty one, employed in the mechanical department of a newspaper and was a member of the Junior Order U.A.M. His companions on the trip appear to have been fellow members to whom he refers as Brother Baldwin, etc.

Mr. Wurts on June 15, 1854, married Elizabeth Camp Ross, a descendant of Jacob Camp, one of the colony from Connecticut that founded Newark. After his marriage he worked as a reporter on the old *"Newark Advertiser"* and was editor of the *"Newark Mercury"* at the outbreak of the Civil War. He moved to Paterson, became editor of the *"Paterson Press"* and its successor, the *"Press-Guardian"*, continuing as editor of the latter until his death in 1923. Under Governor John W. Griggs he was successively Commissioner of Banking and Insurance and Secretary of State.

1851

Thursday, July 3d, Left the famous City of Newark on the 6 A.M. train for N.Y.—Proceeded very well, until we reached Bergen cut—here, owing to the sharp curves in the road, and the dew rendering the track slippery — we were stuck — scarcely moving at the rate of two miles an hour—Anxious looks were bestowed upon our watches as the hour of 7 approached—finally, however, we started off, and making up for lost time, reached N.Y. 5 minutes before 7. We had now 8 Blocks to go, to reach the Albany Boat, which starts at 7—Away we sped, valises in hand—while the cannibals around the docks and market encouraged us as we shot along—by shouts of "Go it you're left—last bell has rung" &c. We reached the Boat—the New World in time—and were off up the Glorious Hudson—The trip was very pleasant—The Kaats Kills struck me as being the most beautiful of the river scenery. The day was cloudy—and a little showery—and The Catskills were truly cloud-capped—for the dense clouds rolled far below their summits—The showers caused a constant emigration from bow to stern and reverse—On the bow we would be enjoying the fine prospect—when down would come the rain, and shoulder stools, and march! was the word—We

reached Albany about 5 P.M.—Stopped at the Mansion House. I was not much pleased with Albany—It is a queer Dutch Looking old place. In the evening Bro. Swinnerton and myself went to The Albany Museum—The performances were decidedly as good as an emetic—I soon felt ill in consequence. The audience consisted of a crowd—of Canal freebooters—or rather *big*-booters—When we went out it was raining large pumpkins. We got beautifully drowned—And went to bed.

Friday—July 4th—Rose at 8½—broke our fast and broke it very fast and started off for the cars much faster for we had no time to lose. Reached the cars just in time—parted from our friend I. Swinnerton and were off for the West—It rained some more pumpkins—It being the glorious *4th* we thought it necessary to have a *time*. Bro. Baldwin read a patriotic piece from an Albany Newspaper—After which I made an ovation one minute long and concluded amid storms (not) of applause. The scenery of the valley of the Mohawk is perfectly beautiful—miles upon miles of fertile country all in the highest state of cultivation stretch away—cottages and farm houses dot the valleys, mountains bound the view and through all winds the beautiful Mohawk—We stopped at Utica a short time and were much delighted with a stroll around the town. Most of the streets have Indian names which in my estimation are the softest and most musical of all names. We saw in the course of our ramble a large granite building which we were informed was the State Lunatic Asylum. We were fortunate enough to gain admittance. The inmates were at the time engaged in patriotic exercises peculiar to the day—Listening to an ovation from one of their number &c—until the close of these we were entertained by a very gentlemanly young man, an assistant keeper. We were astonished, confounded and delighted—after the close of the exercises we were conducted around the building and introduced to some of the patients. We ascended into the Cupola—whence we had a magnificent view. We found that time had passed so quickly and pleasantly that unmindful of its lapse the dinner hour had passed and it was almost time to be off for Syracuse—Just in time again—

There is a most striking change in the scenery after leaving Utica. Everything looks wild and uncultivated and thousands of acres covered with giant trees, blackened and dead, succeed the smiling farms of the Mohawk Valley—We passed through Rome and Oneida—The latter is a great place; its staple commodities appear to be ice water and wintergreen—"Water, Sir", "Wintergreen, Sir" rang in our ears like a Babel—I purchased some of the wintergreen for which I paid a cent. At Syracuse we stopped at the Syracuse House and, after satisfying our appetites, sallied forth.—Syracuse is not a handsome place—and nothing transpired worth recording. We took packet for Clyde at 6 P.M. and started with the delightful anticipation of passing the night thereon.—We saw the extensive Salt Works at Salina in Syracuse and passed Onondaga Lake before night. Saw sunset at sea—There was a great deal of fun on board—it being 4th of July Night everybody almost was drunk and we had an excellent opportunity of seeing life on the Canal—One man, a native of the Emerald Isle—refusing to pay his fare was unceremoniously tumbled ashore. After running behind the boat for about a mile he concluded to pay and was taken on board again—after which until a late hour at night we were entertained with an argument between him and another equally intelligent country man of his who defended the Captain—The force of logic and brilliancy and depth of reasoning employed were absolutely astounding—toward 10 o'clock a blasted nigger came hustling us about the cabin to hang up beds. We saw that we were to hang upon a hook to sleep—After many an anxious survey of the dubious looking nest appropriated to me I tumbled in and managed to sleep a little in the course of the night—interrupted by the grinding of the boat against the shore at every landing—of which I judged we made about 6 in the course of the night, of the various adventures which befell us during the night such as how the Steward made me lemonade with brown sugar—How Bro. Parkhurst did not like his mattress and how it was changed—How we were entertained by the conversation of the lady passengers who were only separated from us by a red

curtain—and how one of the aforesaid ladies stuck her toe nails into Geo. Baldwin's head—I have not time to dwell upon.

Saturday, July 5th. At an early hour we gladly rushed from the close warm cabin into the keen fresh morning air—It was clear and quite cold—and we nearing Clyde. We arrived about 6 o'clock and stopped at the Clyde Hotel—found Clyde quite a large thriving place—It is the home of Mr. Munn a cousin of Baldwins and a fine fellow. We determined after much deliberation to stay over Sunday at Clyde. We succeeded, after much ambulation, in procuring a conveyance to Great Sodus Bay L Ontario. We had a spanking pair of buckskins and went through in Style—Sodus point is a lovely place. We have had the first view of Ontario—it was a magnificent sight. We had a capital dinner and with our appetites sharpened by our long ride, we did ample justice to our fare—There was a jolly fat custom house officer staying at the Hotel whom I took for the landlord—if he was not he ought to have been for he was the very beau ideal of a Publican—We went fishing in the lake and had very good sport—The hotel at Clyde is a perfect little Paradise, so rural and comfortable and withal everything as clean as cleanliness itself. Left for Clyde about 5 P.M. Made a detour to Wolcott where we took tea with some relatives of Bro. Baldwins. We had a lovely moonlight ride back to Clyde—reached our hotel at ½ past 10 and retired tired.

Sunday, July 6th. Rose at ½ past 7. Weather looked showery. After breakfast we went out to walk and from a steep hill back of the town had a fine view of the place. They have here a mineral spring said to be very medicinal in its properties. A peculiar characteristic of Wayne Co. is the appearance of the hills—They are all long sharp on the top and all run north & south. It gives the country a billowy appearance—looking as if the earth had once been a vast ocean and while rolling in tremendous billows had suddenly been transformed into terra firma—I respectfully offer this as an hypothesis but will leave its establishment to somebody else—We went to the Presbyterian Church in the morning. The sermon was very good. Were honored with an introduction to the Minister, Rev. Mr.

Ward. After dinner beginning to get rather tired of Clyde. We hired a conveyance to Auburn—the nearest point on the railroad. Wrote a letter home today. We paid our bill and started—for Auburn. Our road was very pleasant, sometimes running for a long distance upon the ridge of one of the Wayne County billows. We reached Auburn about 8 P.M. It is a beautiful place—We stopped at the Auburn House—a splendid Hotel kept by B. Ashby. We had a large airy room all together. Rained hard all the evening—and our Clyde John was obliged to stay all night. We were terribly hungry—but mine host of the Auburn soon had us seated before a smoking supper. After disposing of which we were all right again. Went to bed at 10—

Monday, July 7th—We rose at a ¼ to 6, raining quite hard —took a short walk before breakfast—after breakfast the rain ceased—We went to see the State Prison. Paid the usual fee and were admitted and shown around and through the building. A great many kinds of manufacturing are here carried on. We were rather disappointed owing to the gruffness and taciturnity of our guide who did not take the slightest trouble to explain anything to us. We then strolled through the town. We went into a factory of some kind. Saw a notice "No place for loungers—no business. Please leave." Took the rather significant hint and created a vacuum as far as I was concerned—From the cupola of the Auburn House—which we reached by ascending a winding staircase of 120 steps broad and easy—we had a noble view of the City of Auburn. We left Auburn at 11½ A.M. for Rochester. Had a pleasant, varied and very rapid ride. We passed Cayuga Bridge and Cape. This bridge is more than a mile in length. We had very fine views of Seneca and Canandagua Lakes—Geneva on Seneca Lake, I will remark, carries on a driving trade in apples, chestnuts, popped corn and lemonade. We arrived in Rochester at ½ past 2. Stopped for dinner and waited for the next train. We went to see the Genesee Falls—which must have been very grand before art with its vandal hand had shorn it of its beauties—There was today a good deal of water going over—and we were highly pleased. The river below the first fall has wrought out

for itself a vast circular amphitheatre walled with tremendous cliffs which impend so far that a stone dropped from the edge falls about 50 feet from the bottom of the rock. The flouring mills of Rochester are very immense establishments. They were not running owing to some stoppage of the water. The arcade is quite a fine building. Rochester contains about 36000 inhabitants and is a thriving driving place. We left Rochester at 5 P.M. for Buffalo—and arrived there at 8—Were beset by a perfect avalanche of porters and hackmen. Escaped unharmed and ran for our lives—Stayed at the Mansion House. Spent the evening with a young lady from Newark and retired at ½ past 11.

Tuesday, July 8th. We rose at ½ past 5 and went out to see the City. We went down to the docks to see the steamboat—which though not to be compared with the N. River boats, are yet very fine. We had a first view of L. Erie—Market House is a very mean one, not much better than our own. There are a great many old fashioned cabs in the streets. Left Buffalo at 9 A.M. upon the little steamer Emerald—just as we left Buffalo Harbor the craft gave a reel and I surely thought we were all going to the fishes. We were soon upon Lake Erie and soon ran into Niagara River. The rain came drizzling down making it rather unpleasant. We passed the ruins of Old Fort Erie—and caught the first glimpse of the wooded shore of Canada. A monarchy and a republic are here separated by a narrow river. I couldn't help it, spontaneous combustion took place and the following lines were born:

NIAGARA RIVER JULY 8TH, 1851

How gloriously her waters roll
Between her banks of green
What different feelings swell the tone
While gazing on the scene
There spreads Victoria's realm away
'Tis sad yon lovely shore
Should tremble 'neath a monarch's sway
And fear the Lion's roar

Now turn we where the eagle flies
The empire of the West
Our Country neath yon spreading skies
Lies beautiful and blest
Tis sad to think a monarch's rod
Should rule one foot of western shore
God hasten on the glorious day
When far from North to South away
Columbia's flag shall soar

This was written before I had travelled in Canada. I have since had reason to change my mind and I now hope that Canada, at least for the present, will remain as she is.

We passed Black Rock, on the U. S. Shore; Grand Island, where Major Noah contemplated gathering the Jews in a city, to be called "Ararat" which project failed because the Jews couldn't be gathered—Navy Island, memorable as the rendezvous of the patriots (so called) in the Canadian rebellion of 1837—We landed at Chippewa, just above the commencement of the terrific rapids. We could hear the voice of Niagara and could see apparently not more than a few hundred feet below us the flashing crests of the rapids and the dense column of mist rising to the skies. I felt rather skittish and was not sorry when the boat shot into Chippewa Creek out of the influence of the rapid current of Niagara River. This is as far as the river can be navigated with safety and even here should an accident happen to render the boat unmanageable it would inevitably be swept to destruction. We were now on the Canadian Shore and the first object which meets our gaze is the custom house with the insignia of royalty—Crown and Sceptre. This reminds us that we are in a foreign land. Chippewa is memorable for having been the scene of a hard fought battle in the last war with England. We took seats in a very mean horse car and over a snake head road bumped and rattled on to Clifton. We passed a portion of the rapids and soon from our seat upon the top of the car the first glimpse of Niagara, the thunderer, burst upon us. We lost sight of it however

until we arrived at the Clifton House—a magnificent hotel commanding a full front view of the falls. Our first emotion was one of disappointment. It appears to be almost universally the case and let people if they will break out in fulsome raptures at the first view they must be set down as brainless sentimentalists and totally incapable of appreciating the sublime—Niagara cannot be appreciated at a glance. We were shown to our room, a splendid one opening upon a fine promenade piazza, and the glorious falls right in view from our window. After lunch at 12 we went out for a stroll. Were besieged, or rather assaulted, by hackmen, but succeeded in escaping. By the way, this western country beats the world for hackmen and disinterested railroad and hotel agents. On our way to table rock we passed the spot where Miss Rugg fell and was killed from the rock. A small peanut establishment has been erected upon the romantic spot.—Kept by a widow somebody—whose poetical genius has found vent in the following morceau which was picked up by one of our party on a card before her door:

"Woman most beauteous of the human race
Be careful of a dangerous place;
Miss Rugg at the age of twenty-three
Was launched into eternity
Widow"

This is almost as good as the effusion of the Elizabethtown poet who suspended the following lines across the street when General Scott returned from Mexico:

"Welcome home to your native land
The Hero of the gallant band
Who fought the foe and feared them not
Major General Winfield Scott"

Standing upon Table Rock we just begin to realize the grandeur of Niagara. An attempt at description would be perfectly futile. We proceeded viewing the rapids and river scenery—ascended the bank completely drenched with spray and found our way to Lundys Lane. Here we found an old fellow

who represented himself as having been an American soldier in the battle; pointing out to us the localities of the different incidents, etc. We hardly knew whether to believe him or not—the people around here are such incorrigible liars.—We went to dinner at 3—which needs a special description. There was a regiment of waiters in white and black; white coats, pants, aprons, teeth, and parts of eyes; and faces, black as the ace of spades. One tall darkey acted as Master of Ceremonies. The courses were brought in in processions and the line of waiters formed on both sides of the tables at a given signal down went plates and knives and forks and spoons. Off went the covers; presto change was the word. Everything was done in concert and like clockwork. They were so long in bringing in the dessert that I heartily wished them and their manipulations at the bottom of the falls and almost despaired of getting anything to eat. However Clifton is a splendid hotel and kept most beautifully. Waiters and servants are all very polite and obliging, rooms airy and pleasant, and fare excellent, and clean. It is kept by a Yankee, which Nation is said to excel all others in hotel keeping. After dinner we again dashed madly through a swarm of hackmen and went about three miles up the river to see the burning spring, one of the most wonderful of the many wonders of Niagara. A spring bubbles up emitting a strong sulphurous smell; when a light is touched to it it ignites, burning with a pale blue flame. This spring is enclosed in a small house and is situated at a most beautiful part of the rapids. The waters whirl by your feet with lightning velocity, dashing madly over rock which throw jets of spray 10 to 15 feet in the air, and woe betide any living thing that meets the embrace of those maddened frantic waters—a step of the foot or giving way of the slight platform on which we stand and we would be whirled into eternity amid shrieks of the wave which themselves seem plunging on to a hopeless doom. I could sit for hours and days watching the raging flood and the awful yet thrillingly beautiful sweep over Niagara down its everlasting rocks and every moment would but make me feel the more my own littleness and the infinite majesty and

might of Him whose hand rolls this magnificent torrent down its fearful leap and whose voice is heard in the eternal anthem which rises on the wings of the morning and which mounts to Heaven on the evening wind which greets the sun at his coming and which as to night in the solemn moonlight peals out its everlasting voice.—I am sitting with this anthem in my ears softened by the window being closed. I have but to step out upon the piazza to behold the whole broad line of cataract in the moonlight. The American fall is just in front distant about 800 feet and the mist every now and then stretches its damp wings even to the spot where I stand. I have just stepped out to look at the falls. The sky has been overcast but the clouds broke forth and we had a charming view by moonlight. Today we have walked about 10 miles amid the vicinity of the falls and for one, I am tired.

Wednesday, July 9th. Morning clear and bright. A dense mist hangs over the cataract and sweeps for miles down the narrow gorge below. The sun can scarcely pierce it with his rays and it has the appearance of a round ball like the moon. A few miles below the falls the mists have gathered in a dense dark cloud which reaches as far as the eye can see. After breakfast we went to table rock and procured dresses and a guide to go behind the sheet. We made rough looking figures in our oilskin coats, hoods and trousers but we soon found need for them. We descended a winding staircase and stood under the impending precipice of table rock. Below us, in the bed of the stream, lay the immense masses which from time to time have fallen from the rock. We here stopped and took off our hoods and coats for a shower bath. Now we press onward through the wildest storm of wind and rain that ever I had to combat. A violent wind swept us toward the face of the rock drenching us again and again, at times taking our breath completely away. On stalked our able guide and onward we rushed, occasionally turning our faces to the rock to recover our breath, until at last we stood upon termination rock—two hundred and forty feet from the outer edge and the farthest point ever trodden by man—And now were I to live a thousand years, I never can

forget that moment--Shut out from the world—alone with Niagara and its Maker--how horribly beautiful seemed that dimly lighted cavern walled on the one side with the everlasting cliffs and on the other the tremendous flood vaulting far over our heads—and ten thousand thunders stunning our ears—chaos was there in the midst of the sublimest order—We soon stand upon the top of the rock and received a certificate that we had been to termination rock.

We returned to the Hotel, paid our bill and took a last lingering look at the falls on the Canada side before we engaged a hack to convey us to the Whirlpool and Suspension Bridge. The Whirlpool is a very wild place caused by a bend in the river. Large objects such as logs, trees, etc. are whirled around like straws, sucked into the boiling vortex and then shot upward like arrows, sometimes whirling here for many days before they escape. We cross the Suspension Bridge on foot. Here I felt rather skeary—and who would not, suspended as it were, by a mere thread over an abyss 230 feet down to the surface of the water and 250 feet of dark green rushing angry water still below you and just below you the frightful whirlpool. This bridge vibrates sensibly with the tread of a man. From below a carriage crossing looks like a creeping spider. We saw the Maid of the Mist, a little steamboat that conveys visitors to the foot of the falls. We went on board, were provided with Indian rubber suits and hoods which made us look like monks. We dashed right up to rocks at the foot of the falls and had a grand time with the wind and spray. The falls from the foot present the appearance of falling directly from the sky.

Returning we found that with all our precaution, and I certainly thought I was impervious, our collars had suffered severely. The clean one which I had put in the morning nice and stiff hung down like the tail of a drenched rooster. This was a sad thing for a clean collar away from home is not an affair to be lightly prized. We took a horsecar for the Cataract House which is a fine and very big hotel. We here found a great many visitors. We spent the rest of the afternoon strolling about on

the American side viewing the falls from the tower and islands and bridges from which the rapids can be seen to most advantage. Went back to hotel tired out and well satisfied with our day's work. Rained hard in the evening.

Thursday, July 10th. Morning fine and clear. After breakfast we made the most of our time for we had but a few hours more to spend with Niagara—We went over to Goat Island, descended a spiral stair in a sexagon tower called the Biddle Staircase, and leading to the foot of the falls. We here saw what we had anxiously looked for—The rainbows of Niagara. We saw two very beautiful ones. We went to the entrance of the cave of the winds—a place behind the American fall similar to the passage under table rock. We chartered a hack to convey us to Lewiston, being afraid to trust our like upon the railroad over which an asthmatic locomotive flies at the rate of 4 miles an hour—carefully jumping over the numerous snake heads in its path. We are now to leave Niagara. Whether I shall ever look upon it again, I know not, but I do know that the impressions I there received are lifelong.

TO NIAGARA

I've looked on thee Niagara when the rising god of day
Threw tints of dazzling beauty on thy robing cloud of spray
When pealing up to Heaven went thine early hymn of praise
To Him whom even thou must fear, thou flood of ancient days
I've gazed on thee at noontide when the hum of busy life
Went up amid the shrieking of thy waters in their strife
And marching up to Heavens thy misty column stood
As though it sought to bear thy praise up to the Throne of God
I've been within thine inner temple—Skeptic stand ye there
And let your shrinking soul deny its Maker if it dare
Then bow in abject humbleness before that power sublime
Whose praise the proud Niagara is hymning through all time
When through the midnight dark and stern careers the maddened gale
And shriek thy bounding surges far above the tempest's wail
And peals in crashing volleys heaven's thunder through the air
And start thy riven rocks to sight beneath the lightning's glare
Though then thou'rt glorious to behold yet let me look on thee
When burnished by the gentle moon thou seems't a silver sea
Ah in the solemn moonlight thou speakest to my heart
A deeper truer lesson than man's wisdom can impart
And he who in that solemn hour gazes on thy flood
Must feel with thrilling soul the might and wisdom of his God.

We stopped on our way to Lewiston at the devil's hole, a

tremendous chasm and appropriately named. We arrived at Lewiston at half past ten, beating the cars 1 hour. We went to see the Lewiston Suspension Bridge—which is a much more extensive affair than that at Niagara—but destitute of its savage grandeur. We saw Gen. Brock's Monument on Queenston Heights—a very commanding situation. Took the steamer Cataract at 12 M for Montreal. Had a fine sail down the Niagara River to its mouth. Passed the town of Newark and Fort Niagara on the American and Ft. Massasaugua of the Canada side. We soon shot out upon the broad bosom of Ontario. We had a glorious time on Ontario, sometimes almost out of sight of land. There was a small, but very pleasant party on board and we soon felt at home. We saw the sun set in the lake—which had the appearance of a sunset at sea, there being no land visible in the west—The moon looked lovely—almost full. We retired early to our staterooms and I slept as soundly as if I had been at home.

Friday, July 11th. We were waked at 4 o'clock by the clerk. We were sailing among the thousand islands of the St. Lawrence. The air was keen and bracing and as we wound our course through these lovely islands we enjoyed it very much. The islands are said to number 1200 and are of every imaginable size and shape. We reached Ogdensburg at 6 A.M. where we changed boats—not for the better, but very good, however. We sailed on down the St. Lawrence. The scenery on this river is very captivating. I do not believe it has its equal in the world. We passed the celebrated rapids. Down these we swept like lightning with four men at the wheel and three at the tiller—with the mad wave howling around and the black rocks glancing under us. One would think these rapids could not be safely navigated, but the captain told us that it was perfectly safe. Sometimes the passage between two islands would be so narrow as just to leave room for the boat to pass. We passed several rafts on our rapid shoots—in the rapids we sailed nearly as fast as the steamer although our paddles were not stopped once. It is impossible for even steamers to paddle up these rapids, so canals are cut on the bank by which vessels

ascend by means of locks—We soon had Canada upon both sides of us—and for the first time in my life I was out of sight of my native land. We were now emphatically in a foreign land. Everything tended to remind us of this. The red windmills on the shore and the low heavy looking red gabled houses all looked strange to me. Red appears to be a favorite color in Canada.

We reached Lachine—nine miles from Montreal at 3 P.M. Took our seats in very comfortable and very odd looking cars—for Montreal where we soon arrived. We took rooms at St. Lawrence Hall which is a very large and rather stylish hotel. After depositing our baggage we went forth to look at the place. The streets are mostly paved with wood which makes it as still as a city of the dead and to us who were accustomed to the racket and din of our Yankee cities it had a cheerless gloomy sound. The streets are full of old fashioned cabs driving like lightning and with the jolliest set of drivers ever seen. Cab Sir? No—Oh what a pity I am very sorry Sir. Yon any number of soldiers in all imaginable styles of dress. Children with hats of Canada straw with brims about two feet in diameter. You hear all sorts of tongues among which the Gallic predominates. The red coated soldiery and the British flag floating from the staffs remind you that you are upon royal ground. The soldiers look as though they did nothing but eat beef and swill beer. The lightest thickest headed looking set of men I ever saw and the officers at least those I saw were not much better looking. Their jackets all seemed too short and their caps too small. We visited the hospital of the gray sisters. Saw some of the oddest looking humanities that I ever saw. I was soon tired of looking at the maimed and halt and blind and only stayed a few minutes—walking along the dock who should I see but two men from Newark lolling over a railing looking as much at home as though they belonged there. We saw some very old houses in the City. In fact nothing looks new in Montreal. It has not the fresh paint smelling air about it which American cities almost invariably have. We returned to our hotel to dinner at 6 P.M. but having already dined before

we left the boat we were not at all hungry—and if I had been I don't know that I could have disposed of their strange looking French dishes. In the evening we went to see a performance by the Officers of the garrison assisted by the Heron family—the play was the Serious family. The Officers of the garrison cruelly murdered their parts and the Misses Heron acted very well only think of a little girl taking part of Captain Maguire for it was perfectly intolerable. There was another play of some kind—played about as well. Upon the whole it was decidedly bad. Went to bed immediately after the performance to sleep off the effects of the medicine.

Saturday, July 12. Rose at 6-½ and after breakfast we chartered two caleches to take a whirl around the City. No one who has never seen a caleche can form any idea of what kind of a looking thing it is. Imagine yourself perched up in the air about eight feet on two wheels and a little Canadian pony about the size of a rat whisking you along like lightning, whirling you around corners so that you have to hold on fast to prevent yourself from taking a flight in the air. I wonder if I can't draw one of them. Perhaps I cannot do it as well as our Canadian pony did but I must try to presume some likeness of them.

Away we went. Up around the mountain having some grand view of the City with its tin roofs glittering in the sun and the noble valley of the St. Lawrence dotted with pleasant villages and far to the east the Green Mountains of Vermont and the bold Shattague Hills. We passed some charming country residences on the outskirts of the City. Montreal has an appearance of sameness. Almost all the houses being built with peaked roofs and dormer windows of solid masonry and tin roofed. This, when the sun is bright renders it almost impossible to look at the City. The domes of the Cathedral and churches are also roofed with tin. We passed several nunneries and stopped at the Bishops Church. This was the finest Church we saw in Montreal. We went through the Market—a fine stone building said to be one of the finest markets in the world. We returned to our hotel where our John tried to screw an

extra quarter out of us—Won't do Mr. Frenchman—We left Montreal at 10 A.M. Took steamboat for Laprairie 9 miles, then railroad to St. Johns 15 miles, then steamboat again down the Sorel or Richelieu River to Lake Champlain. This river resembles somewhat the St. Lawrence and is very beautiful. We had Canada on both sides of us until we reached Rousses Point at which there is a U. S. Fort—it was pleasant to see the stars and stripes again floating over our own shores after seeing for some days nothing but England's crop—for we have been in Canada most of the time for a week. From Rousses Point down we have the U. S. on both sides, N. Y. on the right and Vermont on the left. Here also we ran in L. Champlain. It is impossible to describe the scenery on this beautiful lake. Little fairy like islands lie sleeping everywhere upon its bosom—and as we thread our devious course through them new scenes of beauty continually expand, each lovelier than the last. Far in the distance on the Vermont side stretch the Green Mountains, their rude bold summits seeming to pierce the very clouds. On the N. Y. side stand in stern majesty the no less lofty Adirondacks, sublime in their rugged beauty. These two giant ranges seem to be giant sentinels keeping eternal watch and ward over this lovely lake. We passed several places of little note—Landed at Plattsburgh—famous for McDonoughs splendid victory in the last war. We looked at this place with much interest. There are here some barracks for U. S. troops. Burlington was soon in view. Here as we ran across the lake was presented a scene which can never fade from my memory. We were in a kind of bay surrounded on every side but one by towering hills. Burlington lay sleeping in the shadow of the Green Mountains. The sun, sinking in a flood of golden glory behind the Adirondack hills, the Green Mountains were clothed in a most delicate purple tint which was reflected upon the glassy lake. The lofty Adirondacks were of a most beautiful blue; the most beautiful deep blue that I ever saw and as the rich gold bathed their summits the contrast was most magnificent. Just as the declining sun dipped behind the hills the full moon rose in majestic beauty from

behind the Green Mountains. It was a sight which I never saw before. As the moon sailed from behind the peak the sun threw one bright lingering glance as if enamoured of her after beauty — and was gone. Little sails dotted the lake here and there and the cloudless sky and the waveless lake both clothed in tints of glorious beauty and the gentle moon sailing apparently in both. With the perfectly transparent atmosphere of the north all made up a scene which I verily believe cannot be surpassed even upon the classic and much sung shores of Italy. If Italy, with all her loveliness can boast a landscape more bewitching than from Lake Champlain was displayed this evening it must be more than a Paradise. Just as we ran into Burlington a steamboat with two barges attached came alongside. They had on board a large party of young people and appeared to be enjoying themselves very much. They sailed with us a short distance and then with a cheer from both sides, we parted. Burlington, from the water, appears to be a very pretty place. We went ashore so as to say we had been in Vermont. After we left Burlington we found that we had missed our supper while looking at the beautiful sunset scene. After a long search we succeeded in finding the steward and in getting some supper. We sat on deck for some time enjoying the beautiful scenes on the moonlit lake and went to bed at 10½ to sleep until we arrived at Tyconderoga. Wake up here for Old Ty. 1 A.M. We tumbled out of our berths, seized our valises and landed. We were much surprised to find an eclipse of the moon in progress. We found a hotel by following our nose for some distance and went to bed again.

Sunday morning July 13th. Rose quite late. Found we were very comfortably situated. Good thing, for we shall have to stay here all day. After breakfast went out to look at old Ty.— just back of the house and while examining its time eaten crumbling walls and wishing for someone to tell us something about it an old man came up who has lived upon the spot for more than 65 years and he gave us all the information we wished concerning it. I looked at this celebrated place with

deep and reverent interest. The stirring events which have transpired in and around its walls invest it with extraordinary interest. This is one of the great chain of forts which was built by the French during what is called the French and Indian War. It was built in 1756 and 7 and occupies a very commanding situation. Just back of Old Ty looms up Mt. Defiance which completely commands the Fort and from which it has been twice taken without firing a gun or the loss of a man. We saw the door of the apartment occupied by La Place on the night when Ethan Allen came thundering at his door and demanded the surrender of the Fort in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress. Old Ty is fast fading from the earth. The British after the Revolution burnt what they could of it to prevent the Americans from using it. We spent some time very pleasantly wandering around and among its broken arches and crumbling walls. The works enclosed about 3 acres. We are now sitting on a corner of a redoubt overlooking the lake under the shade of a beautiful locust tree. Mt. Defiance is in front and the walls of old Ty around and about us—in such a place as this what emotions throng the mind. What scenes have here transpired on this very ground. The ruthless savage sharpened his hatchet and strung his bow for slaughter—here the gay and gallant Frenchman stacked his burnished arms and sung his songs of love. Here the sturdy Briton held his watch and ward and here the true and tried of America watched and suffered. From the very rampart on which we sat has rung the qui vive of France and the Saxon Sentinel's hail.

The days of old, the days of old
How gallantly they come
How swarms the plain with legions bold
How rolls the battle drum
Yon plain that spreads so fair and green
Has seen the day I wot
When o'er it flashed the bayonets sheen
And flew the hissing shot

These crumbling masses strewn along
This grass o'ergrown redoubt
Have echoed to the Indians long
And white man's battle shout
The gallant sons of lovely France
Have waked these moldering towers
With lightsome song and merry dance
To cheer their lonely hours
Old England's banner too has flown
From yonder bastion high
Her swords have flashed, her bayonets shone
And rung her battle cry
And here Columbia's rainbow sheet
Hath floated on the air
And hurrying tramp of patriot feet
Hath echoed on yon stair
Now ruin hovers o'er the place
And silence reigns around
But yet for what it once hath been
For aye 'tis holy ground

We spent the afternoon in our usual serious and discreet manner, took another walk up to the old fort, found our ancient friend and had a very interesting conversation with him. Went down and sat on the dock to see the moon rise and then went up to see the old fort by monlight. It was a solemn thing to see that old time hallowed ruin by moonlight.

"If you would view fair Melrose aright
Go visit it by the pale moonlight"

says Walter Scott, speaking of an old ruin. This well applies to old Ty. We went down to the dock again to see the steamboat pass—and went home to bed. This endeth Sunday at Tyconderoga—and probably our lots could not have been cast in a pleasanter place.

Monday, July 14th. Started afoot for Alexandria distant 5 miles at the foot of Lake George. Passed on our way many

embarkments and traces of redoubts. At Alexandria we procured a boat and had a fine fishing time in Lake George. At 4 P.M. we took the pretty little steamer John Jay for Caldwell. Oh what a lovely sail was that up Lake George. The waters of this island gemmed mountain bosomed lake are clear as crystal. Thirty and forty feet down you see the trout and perch gliding along, and at that depth you can see every pebble upon the bottom. The steamer is a fairy like craft—just suited for this lake. We landed at Sherrill's Lake House at the head of the lake. This is a splendid place. We had a fine sail upon the lake in a little row boat and we took occasion to try the echoes which were very fine. The islands on Lake George are 365 in number. We were annoyed all the evening by the polite attentions of disinterested hackmen with splendid carriages—offered to take us over very cheap—very cheap. Went up stairs to our room and found somebody else in our bed. We found another room and retired . . .

Tuesday, July 15th. Rose at 4½. Took stage for Moreau station at 5. Went through on a splendid plank road at the rate of 12 miles an hour. Breakfasted at Glenns Falls. Very romantic place. The Hudson River is somewhat narrower here than it is at New York. Makes some very pretty leaps over the black marble rocks. At Moreau we took the cars and dashed on through Saratoga, Ballston and other places to Troy. We here discovered that we might have stopped a few hours at Saratoga and got home just as soon. I was very sorry I did not know it sooner. We were detained at Troy until 2 P.M.—when we took the Hudson River Railroad. We had a very rapid ride down this road. At Oak Hill we took a steamboat and after getting about 10 miles down the river I discovered that I had left my coat in the cars. It was then too late to get it and after making the best arrangement I could for its recovery I made the best of it and took it cooly, which I could not avoid doing as I had but a thin linen coat and the air of the river was a little sharp. We took the cars again at Poughkeepsie and arrived without further accident in New York—sent a courier down to the ferry to see if we could get home,

but we found we could not. Stopped at Taylors in Courtlandt St. and at 6 A.M. Wednesday, July 16th took cars of N.J.R.R. & T. Co. for Newark and arrived at home all safe and well after traveling a distance of thirteen hundred and ninety nine miles—in all imaginable ways and shapes.—G. WURTS.

THE EARLY CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH CAROLINA

As Seen Through the Eyes of a New Jersey Soldier
(Private Edmund J. Cleveland,
Co. K, Ninth New Jersey Volunteers)

PART IV

SEPTEMBER 8, 1863 - MARCH 16, 1864

Edited by EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR.

Editor's Note: This is the fourth and concluding part of the excerpts from the diary relating to the early North Carolina campaigns. It is the seventh of the series to appear in the *"Proceedings"*, the first in January, 1948.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1863

This morning I, with four others, was detailed to remove the old stockading from Lt. Townley's tent and to substitute new. After we had finished the lieutenant did not seem too well pleased, as one side was higher than the other. I suppose we will have to reconstruct it tomorrow.

Carrigan has taken Peer's place in the cook house. The boys of Co. C have made a hemispherical oven by bricking up an old boiler.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1863

This forenoon I visited Peer and wrote two letters for him, one to his brother, George, in Hoboken and the other to his wife, to whom he sent one of my miniatures. In the same room with Peer is a man who has in his possession a tumour which was removed from his breast in the Beaufort Hospital. Bottled up in alcohol he regards it as a curiosity "along the physiological line." I think that he has queer taste to carry around a thing like this.

This evening I brought some ripe apples in camp, but I have

not seen a peach this season. Along with everyone else I received a ration of seven onions this evening.

Today the detail reconstructed the stockade and bricked the floor of Lt. Townley's tent.

Last night some of the boys visited Malachy Bell's sweet potato field and helped themselves. He complained to the colonel this morning. This evening guards fully equipped were posted around the field. Old Malachy will be lucky if the guards do not bring away a bushel or so.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1863

This morning I visited Peer again at the hospital. He appears to be more comfortable.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1863

On guard. Peer sent me a note with money enclosed this morning, requesting that I purchase some edibles for him. I got the articles and sent them to him by Henry Purcell, who says that Peer is weak but much better.

At dress parade an order was read stating that Gen. Gillmore has possession of the whole of Morris Island, near Charleston. A salute of 13 guns was fired from Ft. Totten in honor of the glorious news. As a singular coincidence our rooster from the coop in the cook house yard, crowed while the reports rang out. I think that he ought to have his feathers dyed red, white and blue.

Pickets are being put out tonight. Many think that we will be taken to New Bern next week, but I hope that we stay here a while longer.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1863

The "grand rounds' 'did not visit us last night. Countersign, "Shiloh."I reposed under a bush. Although the air was chilly, I preferred it to the guard-house which is said to be infested with "Genus Pediculus."

This afternoon Purcell, Ross, and myself waded in the sound and dug three sacks of clams. Fried in flour and grease, we found them very good. Our dog, "Pinky," waded in with us and caught crabs. He is a very knowing canine.

This evening I visited Peer again in the hospital. It was after "retreat" when I left camp. I got out via the shore of the sound. To my amazement I met Lt. Townley and have visions of doing double duty. Peer is better but very weak. I took him some fried clams which he relished.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1863

Inspection by Sergt. Williams at 6:30 a.m. Bugles were blown for tent inspection, but the doctor did not come. A shower this evening. Our tent is not completely water proof.

Peer visited camp today. He is improving.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1863

Papers of Sept. 10th contain the news that Rosecarns has taken Chatanooga and Burnside, Knoxville. There is also an account of the taking of Morris Island and the statement that Uncle Sam is soon to send an army from New York to Texas as it is thought that there will be trouble with the French in Mexico. It is thought that the 35th N.J.V. (now being raised) will accompany the army.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1863

Each tent has received a ham, to be divided and cooked as the men please. Jerry Decker's box, filled with many dainties came in the morning mail. Unfortunately I have a sore mouth, tongue and throat.

At dress parade this evening a War Department order was read, instructing a dimunition of the baggage to be carried by officers and men. Each private is to have in his knapsack a change of underclothing and rations, the whole with blankets to weight only 19 lbs. Before dress parade, Lt. Townley said he wanted us to draw plenty of clothing, "so we would never have to carry our knapsacks on a march."

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1863

We spoke for clothing for three months at the request of the officers: 2 pairs of shoes; 2 pairs of pants; 2 blouses; 2 suits of underwear. This does not look like obeying the order read at dress parade last evening.

Tunis Peer reported to the company today. He, of course, bunks with me, as of yore.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1863

An unexpected mail came this morning. I received a most cheering and important letter from mother.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1863

This morning we could see the masts of a vessel which has evidently run on a bar on the seaward side of Bogue Sound. It is reported that another vessel, an English ship, is wrecked on the bar off Fort Macon. She is probably a blockade runner bound for Wilmington.

At dress parade an order from Gen. Peck was read, directing that there be no more pillaging on marches, for he stated that North Carolina was the first colony to declare her independence of the British Crown and might be the first state to declare her independence of the C.S.A.

While I write, Sergt. Bryant, bass; Higgins, baritone and Bob Williams, tenor, are singing various songs, including "A Shout for Freedom" (from the N.Y. Glee and Chorus Book) and "Jennie Lorne" (from the Waverly Magazine).

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1863

On guard last night, the officer of the day, visited my post a little after 9:00 p.m., as "a friend with the countersign — "Corinth." Later I was much surprised when Sergt. Zimmerman announced myself as the recipient of a "pass of merit."

My pass was made out for Beaufort. I thought I would like to see Rudy who is stationed there. As I hopped on the train I learned he was at Morehead City. I found him acting as a "boss mason" over six darkies who were digging a well for the new hospital. On the cars I had met Ben Gale who has been a patient in the hospital. He said that large quantities of coffee and sugar, and three pieces of ordnance were found in the hold of the wrecked English vessel. The air has been chilly all day. We are beginning to experience some of the pleasures of the equinoctial.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1863

Last night was very chilly. We learned today that the crew of the vessel wrecked off Bogue Sound have been made prisoners. One of them has given evidence which clearly proves that the ship was a blockade runner. He says that the captain procured a negro to pilot the vessel into Wilmington. But either by intention or mistake the darkey brought the vessel to Beaufort. When the trick, if it was a trick, was discovered the pilot was thrown overboard.

A number of men, mostly of Co. E got into a fight today. As a result the remaining guard tent is well populated.

Bryant and Higgins are singing sacred music and Lt. Hamilton is accompanying them with a frying pan and using a bayonet as a tuning fork. Rather merry for Sunday evening.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1863

This morning I was detailed on ground police. We handled commissary stores, rolling up a car on the railroad from "Lamb's" and unloading rations. I also scoured up my rifle.

According to newspapers of the 17th Gen. Gillmore is bringing more heavy guns to bear on Charleston and the President has allowed him to bombard the city whenever he is ready. Beauregard threatens to place Union prisoners on the parapets of Ft. Sumter as soon as the bombardment begins. Is this is done Gillmore will request Admiral Dahlgren to lash Confederate prisoners to the turrets of the monitors. All this is probably just another newspaper story.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1863

Peer and I went clamming this afternoon. We made some clam soup which is just as delicious as any oyster stew I have ever eaten.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1863

A dissension arose among the occupants of Tent No. 2 this morning. One party wished to restockade the tent. The other party wished to finish covering the floor of the tent with bricks. Result, the first party, of which I was a member, brought down

stockades from the camp of the 23rd Mass. and the other, with the assistance of a darkey and his mule cart, brought back a load of bricks from the same place. Now we have both a new stockade and a new floor. Our tent is the most convenient of K Row.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1863

A mail came this morning and I have been busy reading and answering letters.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1863

On Guard, Lt. Townley Co. K officer of the day, Sergt. Burnet, Co. B acting officer of the guard. The latter made a botch of guard mount owing to nervousness. He has been unstrung, it is said, ever since he accidentially shot a comrade on the Tarboro scout.

Last night some marauders took nearly all the potatoes from Pine's sweet potato patch. Members of the 9th N.J. are blamed for this but boys of the 98th N.Y. are probably the guilty parties. A guard is being placed around the camp tonight. Each beat is being so closely watched that a mouse could not cross the line without being discovered.

A deer hunting party, under Capt. Hufty, Co. I, has brought back a pretty red doe.

During the day we have heard distant cannonading and musketry fire. We cannot imagine the cause of this.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1863

While off guard last night we were allowed to remain in our quarters.

New York papers of the 23rd tell of Rosecrans and Burnside being whipped near Chattanooga. Re-enforcements are being sent to them. (Note—This probably refers to the Battle of Chickamauga, September 19, 1863.)

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1863

An unusually dull day in camp.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1863

Detailed to company police.

At dress parade an order from Gen. Peck announced that a

military cemetery had been laid out near the Orphan Asylum in New Bern. All are directed not to desecrate this plot, set apart for the last resting place of their comrades.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1863

Last night a serenading party, made up mostly of members of Co. K, went out and visited several homes in this vicinity. It is reported that while the singers accompanied by two violins serenaded, others went out looking for sweet potatoes.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1863

In a letter received by one of the boys was the sad news that Mr. Lewis S. Stearns, father of Corp Joseph Q. Stearns is dead. Mr. Stearns had charge of a government plantation near Port Royal. Mrs. Stearns must feel indeed destitute, deprived of both husband and eldest son, the one in the grave and the other in the army. I deeply sympathize with her in her heart-rending bereavement.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1863

On guard, Post 12, near the horse stable.

This afternoon there was an accident. When the train from Morehead was opposite the regimental hospital, a darkey attached to Co. B uncoupled a car loaded with rations. By a sudden jerk of the train he was thrown between the cars. One of his legs and the other foot were crushed.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1863

On guard. We were allowed to remain in our quarters last evening. Lt. Drake will permit this as long as the guards are quietly aroused. But if there is a big noise, we will have to stay in the guard-house.

The negro, injured in the railroad accident yesterday, died this morning. His funeral was held this afternoon.

Corp. Stearns looks very much depressed and says little to anyone. He is soon going home on a furlough. I have also been down-cast all day. How I wish this was over. God speed the day!

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1863

This morning I procured a pass and took a stroll in the country with Sam Terrill. We first called on Malachy Bell's and saw the fascinating Mary. We next stopped at Perry's. After talking with the old lady for a few minutes we went to Nancy Willis's house near the railroad. We found both her and her "ma" at home. Nancy is not as good looking as Mary Bell but is more talkative and agreeable. She is the most intelligent Southern girl I have met. She could discuss any subject but directed the conversation toward matrimony. Terrill "took the field," as he is a married man. I thought that Nancy wished to offer herself as a candidate in the marriage market although she remarked that she had a beau in the 7th N.C. Volunteers.

We stayed here for a couple of hours and then returned to camp, stopping again at the Widow Willis's on the way back. Sammy is a great gasconader who knows how to embellish his conversation.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1863

This morning Dr. Woodhull ordered Peer to go to the hospital. I carried his knapsack for him and found him a comfortable bunk on the ground floor. He has not been well since his last visit to this place.

Company Inspection at 7:30 a.m. by "Promptly." Tent Inspection at 9:45 a.m. by Lt. Col. Stewart, Major Curlis, Drs. Woodhull and Gillette, Adjutant Carroll and Quartermaster Hufty (detached from Co. D), Officer of the Day, Lt. Townley, Co. K, Sergts. Wright and Bryant.

Just before the cortege entered Tent No. 2 five of the boys filled their pipes with cascarilla bark and smoked them. Soon the atmosphere was perfectly blue and a "muskrat" like smell filled our apartment. When the Lt. Col. and Dr. Woodhull entered, they took some long snuffs, remarked about "muskrats" and then beat a hasty retreat. We had a good laugh at their expense.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1863

Detailed guard supernumerary. Immediately after guard mount I made my usual preparation for Monday's washing.

But hardly had I heated the water when I was informed that the supernumeraries were requested to attend company drill by special order of the Lt. Col. I was somewhat put out, as it was something new for supernumeraries to drill. They are supposed to remain in camp to go on guard at a moment's notice, if needed. But I complied with the request and did my washing at noon. I borrowed a "U.S. Army Regulations" from Lt. Townley but could find nothing on this subject.

I am anxiously looking for a mail.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1863

On Guard. Post 3. Ist Relief. There was some excitement in camp this morning. Lt. Townley promised to treat with 12 bottles of ale that tent which shall exhibit the best set of accoutrements and equipment on next inspection day. There will be much competition for the prize. The eight boys of Tent No. 2 clubbed together and sent for a series of eight "Bed Room Pictures" published by Fred Purcell, P.O. Box 2085, New York City. Price $1.00.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1863

We remained at the guard house from 11 to 12 last evening. Countersign, "Lexington." This morning I raised the head of my bunk several inches. Just as I completed the job, the mail arrived. I received a couple of letters which contained little news. There seems to be general inactivity everywhere.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1863

We had very dusty battalion drill this afternoon under the command of Major Curtis. It is the first one I have attended in some time.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1863

The paymaster appeared in camp today and immediately began to pay off the men. Not having enough bills of small denomination, he was able to pay only as far as Co. H. Cos. I and K are to be paid tomorrow.

Our chaplain returned yesterday. Today a carpenter detail from Co. K has been converting the R.R. depot on the Sound,

near Lamb's place, into a chapel. The building has no weather boards but will answer the purpose very well.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1863

I scoured my rifle this morning. Cos. I and K were duly paid two months' wages. To my surprise I received an old $1.00 order on the sutler.

There will be service tomorrow at the Depot Chapel at 2:00 p.m. Men may go under the charge of a non-commissioned officer.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1863

A mail came this afternoon. I received an envelope from W.J.D. containing notes for Steve Denman, Hoover, Peer and myself. I also received a copy of the "Hamilton Free Telegraph," a "copperhead" sheet, teeming with "niggah" from one end to the other. William Townley received a copy of "Radiations," a companion to "The Gospel of Peace," a Democratic "take-off" of the opposite party.

Corp. Stearns expects to start on his furlough tomorrow. I just put in his hands a letter to be delivered to M. I put in the envelope a note of introduction, a note to her and $10.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1863

Detailed guard supernumerary. At battalion drill this morning the drummers beat "common time" so dolefully slow that we could not keep step. The Lt. Col. gave us "double quick" and we did tolerably well.

This morning a corps of pioneers and an ambulance corps were organized. At drill this afternoon the pioneers headed the column and the ambulance corps, with their litters, brought up the rear.

They are having a gay time in one of Co. F's tents tonight. Bugles, fiddles and drums playing in concert make lively music. An ambrotypist has put up his tent in the rear of the guard house and will soon commence operations on the "physiogs" and pockets of the boys.

Lately regiments have been arriving at New Bern, from Virginia and Wisconsin. It is thought that there will soon be 30,000

re-enforcements at this depot and that there will soon be some fun. Many think that the organization of the pioneer and ambulance corps betokens a movement.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1863

On guard. The day has been a gala one in camp. Regimental line was formed at 10:00 a.m. When we marched on to the field, Gen. Heckman and his staff were on hand. There were also several ladies present including Mrs. Heckman, who rode a black horse, and the wife of Capt. Harris. The latter has been reinstated in the 9th, having failed to secure the cavalry post he desired. I could see the review from my post on the sound, and it was indeed a grand affair.

This afternoon guns were stacked in company streets and the tents inspected by a member of Gen. Heckman's staff. The same officer inspected the arms of the first relief at the guard house, finding all the fault he could about them and of the men and things in general, asking something less than a thousand questions.

This has been a holiday for the officers who have been imbiding rather freely. Dared we do likewise we would be severely punished.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1863

Our "Soldiers Memorials" arrived yesterday. They are sealed on pine rollers ready for mailing. They are truly elegant.

Corp. Stearns has started for home on furlough.

There is more talk about the coming movement. The 150th N.Y. have gone to Morehead to relieve the 81st N.Y. who are to accompany us to Virginia. Peer has returned from the hospital so that he may go with us. Many anticipate that we will have a rough time.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1863

Our commissary was ordered this morning by Lt. Townley to have comissary supplies in readiness to be moved at ten minutes' notice. Now the rations are all packed in boxes or barrels properly marked. We have been expecting but have not received orders to move.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1863 — 10:00 A.M.

Lt. Townley has just issued orders to strike tents and be packed by 1:00 p.m.

Evening

We have not yet left camp and it is probable we will remain here for the night. A large detail has been waiting at the railroad to load the stores and baggage.

The usual happenings, incidental to moving are taking place. The boys have been up to all sorts and kinds of mischief. Negroes and civilians have swarmed to the camp to pick up any cast away articles. The people say that they are sorry to see us go.

It is generally thought that we will board the transport, "Spaulding" but the vessel has not yet entered Beaufort Harbor. I have heard that Gen. Foster has exchanged some of Gen. Peck's old troops for us, to get us again under his command.

Hospital Steward Salter has been taken from the Ninth and promoted to Asst. Surgeon.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1863

Not off yet. We have been ready and packed for some time. It is not known how soon we will leave. The camp is in "beautiful" condition for inspection tomorrow. Many wagon loads of rubbish have been gathered up, but with little apparent effect.

Carrigan of Tent No. 2 came down sick this morning and was taken to the Regimental Hospital. Joe Jackson, the cook, has returned to his post. Winans reported to the company this evening. He says that the "Spaulding" is not yet in, but the rest of the fleet has gone. The 9th may not leave after all.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1863

Barracks, New Bern, 8:00 A.M.

Detailed guard supernumerary yesterday. A mail came at noon. In the afternoon I answered some of the letters received and gave the envelopes to Cox, the postmaster, at the depot, just as the cars were pulling in. As soon as the train stopped there was a stampede across camp. Orders came for immediate removal. I had to gobble my supper in a hurry. Soon knapsacks

were packed and tents folded up. Then we waited for a full hour in the dark before marching to the cars. The boys spent the time tearing things up. The cook houses of Cos. B and E were set on fire. The whole place was lit up, making a "deserted scene" for artists to paint.

We were packed in the cars leaving no room on the platforms for knapsacks. Such a crowded ride I never had before. We reached New Bern in an hour and then had to wait another hour while the baggage was being put aboard the steamers "Albany" and "Jersey Blue." The former had been a cattle boat and the right wing boarded her. Some of the boys bunked in the mangers on the berth deck, and the rest were crowded on the other decks. Co. K was in the stern. No one had room to lie down and we sat on our knapsacks. I was near the smoke stack and had to be careful. One of the boys returning from furlough on this boat was badly scalded.

The atmosphere below decks, filled with cattle smells, was stifling. Those who had sought mangers for bunks were glad enough to come up on deck for a breath of fresh air. It was impossible to sleep. Some "wag" asked the captain of the ship about the accomodations. He replied that he heard that the 9th N. J. could stand anything. If they could stand this he would believe it.

It must have been midnight, just as I was taking a cat-nap, when orders came to Co. K to disembark. Glad enough we were to get off the dirty tub. We trudged up the street and met Co. K who were likewise crowded off the "Jersey Blue." We marched up the street together to the barracks. Co. K took those formerly occupied by Co. E. Peer and I secured a lower bunk. After feasting on a box of sardines which he got in New Bern, we slept soundly.

Evening

Many of the boys went to New Bern and came back exhilarated. Lt. Townley threatens to court-martial some of the "drunks."

We have swept out the barracks. After we received rations,

we cooked coffee in our tin cups for supper. With cheese, onions, fresh bread and butter we fared first rate.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1863

This morning Peer, Purcell and I took a stroll to the cemetery of the Stanley Hospital a short distance from here. It is surrounded with an iron fence, with cannon, sabres and muskets worked into the design. On the gateway is the motto—"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." There are many graves of soldiers of various regiments in the cemetery.

Lampe has purchased an accordian. As I write he is playing some very good music.

I have just heard that we are to leave tonight.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1863

10:00 A.M. Out on the Ocean Sailing

We boarded the train at 7:00 p.m. yesterday. For a wonder we were furnished several cars. At the end of the train was a passenger car and into this Co. K went, but we had to surrender it to some officers. We then took up our quarters in a baggage car. We arrived at Morehead at 8:30 p.m. and were immediately put on the propeller, "John Rice." Gen. Heckman and staff and a number of civilian passengers were on board.

The accommodations are excellent, with plenty of room to spread our blankets on the berth deck. We lay at Morehead all night and sailed at 9:00 a.m. This boat carried the 23rd Mass. to Newport News last week and, probably, that place is our destination. Cox, the postmaster, is with us. So it is evident that this is a general move and we are not likely to see North Carolina again for some time.

Last night I went on guard and expect to be on duty until guard mount at 9 o'clock this evening. Though the vessel is rocking considerably we are making good headway and have passed several other ships. We will reach Fortress Monroe tomorrow afternoon.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1863

Morning

Last evening we were much amused by some negroes dancing

on the deck. They belong to the 2nd N.C.V., stationed at Portsmouth and were under the charge of a white lieutenant.

12:30 P.M.

The sea is rough. The vessel has been tossing so violently as to make things rattle. We have to look out for tumbling missles. I can hardly write. Many are sea-sick. We are rounding Cape Henry and will soon be in Chesapeake Bay.

4:30 P.M.

We are anchored off Fortress Monroe. A small tug has come out and taken the civilians ashore. When the ladies were descending the steps into the tug, a large American flag was put to a novel use.

The fortress looks more grand than ever, but there is much construction going on. Not many vessels are in the harbor. Near us are a man-of-war and a gunboat.

All packed and ready to go ashore. As we have come northward it has grown colder. Overcoats are agreeable companions.

8:00 P.M.

As soon as the tug returned with Gen. Heckman and others, we weighed anchor and sailed up the James River, passing several vessels on the way, including the three turret iron-clad "Roanoke" and the frigate "Minnesota."

We landed at Newport News' wharf and immediately marched to camp which is only a short distance from the shore. On our way we passed through a village of negro shanties and by several sutler shops. Our whole brigade is with us. Most of the men will have to sleep *on* instead of *in* their tents, as the poles have been lost. Luckily we kept our things together and pitched our tent. Peer and I have a place in it.

The bugler of Co. E, Ambrosius Weilhardt, was washed overboard from the "Albany" and drowned.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1863

At daylight, many wagons loaded with edibles, appeared at camp. There were for sale at reasonable prices, boiled potatoes, biscuits, cakes, pies, etc. Peer and I had some excellent fried oysters for breakfast.

The boys began work early. They have been as busy as ants ever since, getting the camp in order. Now nearly all the tents have been put up and raised on stockades—Tent No. 2 among them. As soon as we can get the boards we will have some bunks. The soil is as hard as a flagstone and the pick has to be used frequently.

Colonel Zabriskie reviewed the regiment yesterday. Guard orders are not as strict as when Lt. Col. Stewart was in charge. Gen. Heckman and his lady in a buggy visited camp.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1863

There has been a cold rain all day long. A stove has been put in Tent No. 2. And I have been writing letters.

Lt. Pullen returned from Trenton today, with a squad of eight recruits for the 9th. They were guarded by a Sergeant of Infantry and a Sergeant of Cavalry, the one with a musket and the other with a sabre.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1863

This morning members of Tent No. 2 went out into the country, and brought 200 pine slabs from a negro for $1.50. With these we have made some excellent portable bunks.

Although Sunday, it has been a busy day.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1863

This morning, with nine others I went out on a "water" pass. There is now a guard beat between the camp and the spring where we get our water.

We had, today, our first dress parade in Virginia. A batch of orders from Gen. Heckman. The first announced that he takes command at "Camp Mansfield" which is this post. Others announced the daily routine of drills, etc. We wonder if we will have any new maneuvres so that some "star decked individual" may show his "peanut shell full of authority."

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1863

On guard Post 5. A chilly breeze all day has kept us in the guard house most of the time. We will have to sleep here tonight. We received rations of bread in loaves not larger than a

man's fists. For supper we had stewed dried apples, dealt out by the quarter-master.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1863

At 1:00 a.m. we were allowed to go to our quarters. Tomorrow there will be a brigade review by Gen. Heckman.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1863

A very eventful day. We formed regimental line at 11:00 a.m. Members of Cos. D and E were distributed among the other companies. Lt. Drake was with Co. K. The 9th was on the extreme left. In passing in review we had to hop over many ditches, which made good marching difficult. There were many spectators including civilians and ladies as well as other soldiers. Our regiment was the only one with an ambulance corps carrying litters.

This morning more men returned from furlough, Anderson among the number. He brought me a package containing a pair of stockings and several letters. One of the letters contained an invitation to act as groomsman at a wedding.

There is some mistake in my clothing account. Lt. Townley does not know whether or not it was settled last year. He says it looks as though I will get $90 ($45 per year) for the time I have served. I have drawn $52 worth. This leaves a balance of $38.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1863

Detailed general police, along with Brown and Campbell. We spent the day levelling the brigade parade ground, under the direction of Lt. Drake. It was very hard labour on account of the firmness of the ground.

Peer returned to the company. He received a box yesterday and this evening it was opened. It contained cigars, tobacco, writing paper and a molasses cake.

This morning a salute of 13 guns was fired from Fortress Monroe, in honor, it is supposed, of Maj. Gen. Foster. At noon another salute was fired by the iron clads in the river. One of Co. K's boys was so scared that he ran to the cook house in a great hurry.

Light snow fell this evening.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1863

We had muster for pay this morning.

There is a rumour afloat that the 81st N.Y. returns to North Carolina and we go to Baltimore or Washington.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1863

At dress parade it was announced that there will be a grand review of the forces at this post at 3:00 p.m. tomorrow.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1863

The much prepared-for review came off this afternoon and was a grand affair. Line was formed at the specified time. After several alignings we received orders to open ranks for review, and Gen. Foster and staff galloped down the line. When we passed in review, the band from Fortress Monroe was at the head of the column, followed by the brigade drum corps.

The band wore uniforms decked with red tape and cord and pulmed hats. The drum major had a huge "bear skin" on his head and had a red gilded sash over one shoulder. He carried both baton and sword. The 9th, although plainly dressed, performed excellent marching.

Among the spectators were sailors, marines, and many fair ladies. They all eyed us with much interest, fixing their attention on our tattered colors. Our new flag was also carried. Sergt. Bryant had the honor of carrying the brigade colors. This review is the biggest thing which has happened in our favor.

Gen. Foster now has "Burnsides" and a moustache. His hair is turning gray.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1863

Detailed guard supernumerary this morning. I was ordered by Sergt. Price to report with three other men to the Adjutant, immediately after dinner. We went to the guard house of the "Provost" and were sent back to get our traps as this was a permanent detail. We are to constitute the bodyguard of Gen. Heckman.

Our present quarters are a small 1½ story house ,to the right

of Gen. Heckman's headquarters. The detail of the 9th and 23rd Mass. are in the attic. The rest of the guard are on the first floor. The quarters are near a wharf on the James River.

There are two men in the guard house. They deserted from the 9th a while ago and have been brought here.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1863

Last night I bunked with Johnson of Co. H. The detail of the 23rd Mass., while on guard this evening, picked up a number of darkies who had no passes.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1863

Camp of the Ninth N.J.

While on guard last night, a company of the 3rd N.Y. landed at the wharf. They kept up a noise until a late hour. This morning another company from the same regiment, and Belger's Battery came ashore.

After being relieved at noon, I scoured my rifle. Then I went to camp. Cadmus informed me that Sergt. Price had promised him to be detailed to the provost marshal before the sergeant spoke to me. I agreed to the arrangement and brought my duds back to camp. I have not felt well all afternoon and will report to the doctor in the morning.

According to an order read at dress parade last night, Gen. Foster has condemned to death two deserters of the 8th Conn., now stationed at Portsmouth.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1863

On sick list. Dr. Woodhull prescribed two black pills this morning.

There is great excitement in camp. It is caused by an order read at dress parade in regard to the re-enlistment of veterans. Those who decide to do this will be allowed a 30 day furlough and be given the government bounty.

Corp. Townley went to Fortress Monroe today and bought with company funds a half dozen wooden pails. He presented one to each tent.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1863

Dr. Woodhull prescribed 3 "C.N.O." pills this morning. I expect to report for duty tomorrow.

Lt. Townley has spoken to me about my enlistment papers. He says that they have not been sent to the company and he is writing to Trenton about them.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1863

Inspection at 8:00 a.m. This morning we heard a salute fired from the naval craft. When we reached the river bank, we discovered that the crew of the "Roanoke" were drawn up in a line on deck, extending the entire length of the vessel. As a row-boat with the national colors at her stern was nearing the ship, we supposed that the demonstration was in honor of a high-ranking officer.

At dress parade it was announced that the government bounty for re-enlistment is $100.

We now have fresh bread every day. The days are growing shorter and the weather is getting cooler, and a good fire is necessary for comfort.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1863

This morning there were more salutes from the river. An English man-of-war came in.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1863

Detailed guard supernumerary. Before daylight this morning Lt. Townley and his colored servant, Charles, went to the shore of the river and cut off one of the spars from the wreck of the "Cumberland." Charles brought the spar back to camp. The lieutenant cut off several pieces for souvenirs. The boys in Tent No. 2 did the same. I have whittled what I got into various shapes—boats, hearts, shields, etc., and will send them to friends.

Note. On March 8, 1862 the Confederate ram "Virginia" ("Merrimac"), appeared in Hampton Roads and attacked the Federal fleet lying there. The frigates "Congress" and "Cumberland" were forced ashore and sank in shallow water. The

other vessels, "St. Lawrence" and "Roanoke" escaped. The "Virginia" returned the next day to renew the attack but found the "Monitor" there to meet her. The ram badly damaged was forced to withdraw. As is well known, this naval engagement had far-reaching effects.)

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1863

On guard. Regimental inspection tomorrow at 10:00 a.m. and a battalion drill in the afternoon to test the abilities of the officers.

Very cheering news from the Army of the Potomac. Lee has drawn back toward Richmond .

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1863

Last night we stayed in the guard house. As a continual breeze swept through the place, it was comfortless. But the "grand rounds" did not bother us.

Gen. Foster will relieve Gen. Schenck in Baltimore. An order from him was read at dress parade. It was an affectionate farewell to the troops of his command. He particularly mentioned his old North Carolina soldiers who were with him when the expedition started out from Annapolis.

The bass drum has added much to our regimental music. A couple more fifes would be a further improvement.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1863

A mail came from New Bern. At dress parade an order was read announcing that Gen. Butler has assumed command of the 18th Army Corps.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1863

This morning a couple of huge rebel torpedoes came floating down the James River. When discovered they were opposite the "Roanoke." They were about 6 feet long and contained 100 lbs. of gun powder.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1863

A minute inspection by Lt. Townley at 8:00 a.m. under a new order. The clothing inside the knapsack is to be rolled in-

stead of folded, so that every article may be seen without disturbing the rest. Somebody is getting some very nice ideas!

The "Philadelphia Inquirer" of yesterday says that Gen. Foster has gone west to relieve Gen. Burnside.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16. 1863

Last night, one hour after taps, we were aroused and ordered to cook one day's rations immediately. The camp was aglow with fires until a late hour, but the expected order to march did not come. It was reported that the rebs had attacked Yorktown.

We had another review this evening with a large crowd of spectators looking on.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1863

Received a number of letters today.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1863

I have a severe cold and the doctor gave me quinine and cayenne pepper.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1863

Have felt miserable all day. The doctor tells me to keep on with the cough medicine.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1863

There is great talk in camp about a march soon to come off. Unless I feel better I shall be unable to go.

One corporal from each company has been detailed to go to Jersey and recruit for the 9th. They left this morning under the charge of Capt. Hufty, Co. I. Corp. Higgins, Co. K, was among the number.

After all the fuss, I do not think that there will be a scout.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1863

Great excitement in Tent No. 2, owing to act-Corp. Ford being put here in place of Corp. Higgins. The boys thought that they were able to look out for themselves. But Ford is a first-rate fellow and it is likely we will get along with him very well.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1863

Under the doctor's directions, I made and swallowed black pepper tea last night. It did me no good as I kept coughing all night. This morning the doctor told me to make some syrup, by slicing onions, covering them with sugar, and allowing them to simmer slowly over the fire. I did so and found the syrup to be excellent.

At tent inspection this morning, Dr. Davis asked two of the boys how long they had worn their shirts. Very complimentary to the boys!

At dress parade an order of Gen. Heckman announced that, in accord with the President's proclamation, Thursday, November 26, would be observed by general suspension of duty, and religious services. This Thanksgiving promises to be a great national holiday both at home and in the army.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1863

Corp. Stearns returned to the regiment this afternoon. He brought me a number of letters, a bottle of catsup and some papers. The New Jersey Journal has changed hands. My old schoolmaster, Mr. H. W. Foote, is now the editor and James S. Drake, the printer.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1863

It has been very foggy. The vessels are stretched out in a line across the river, possibly in anticipation that the "Lady Davis" and the "City of Richmond" might take advantage of conditions and try to run out.

I made my first appearance in over a week at dress parade this evening. Lt. Townley has invited me to sing in the choir on Thursday. So I shall not have to carry a rifle. Tonight we have practice under the direction of Chaplain Carroll at the chapel of the 27th Mass.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1863

My 21st Birthday!

Last night, Sergt. Taylor, Co. H, Sergt. Mattison, Co. I, Bosenbury, Co. H and Duncan, Co. H, met the Chaplain at his

tent and accompanied him to the chapel. This building is quite a curiosity. It is made of hewn logs placed endwise in the ground, forming a wall 10 feet high. The roof is made of split pine slabs. Logs, levelled off on top and supported by rough legs form the seats. The pulpit has been constructed with cracker box boards.

We were joined by singers from other regiments in the brigade, a lieutenant nominated Billings of the 27th Mass. to be leader and he was unanimously elected. Among the more conspicious of the singers was the Sergt. Major of the 25th Mass., the drum major of the 27th Mass. and a big fellow with a black moustache, famous not only for his deep bass voice but also for his gay antics.

We practised "America" and "Land of Our Fathers." Afterwards the musicians of the 25th and 27th Mass. favored us with several glee songs. Another practice will be held tonight. I do not think that I shall go as the others are better singers than myself.

THANKSGIVING DAY
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1863

The day dawned clear and bright. But the air was frosty, reminding me of Thanksgiving Day at home.

The regimental line formed at 10:00 a.m. We marched to the open field near the camp of the 27th Mass. In the centre was the speakers' platform, over which floated the national and brigade colors. There were present the 23rd, 25th and 27th Mass., 3rd N.Y. Cavalary, a detachment of artillery and the 9th N.J. We were drawn up by divisions to form three sides of a square in front of the platform.

As soon as we completed the formation, Gen. Heckman came to the front of the platform and the drums rolled "Attention!" He ordered, "Officers, to the front march!" The service followed. It included hymns by the choir, Scripture reading, prayers and a patriotic address by the chaplain. At the close Gen. Heckman dismissed the parade. Civilians and ladies were seated on the platform.

Soon after we returned to camp. Sergt. Bryant and Steve Crane came to Tent No. 2. They brought me a package from brother Lewis. Among other things it contained a roast chicken. This came in good season. The chicken with some excellent fresh beef made a bountiful Thanksgiving Dinner .

During the afternoon the boys were free to go anywhere until tatoo. In the camp of the 3rd N.Y. Cavalary there were sports, horse and mule racing, sack racing, pig chasing, target shooting, etc. Gen. Heckman, who was there, read a dispatch which brought the news that Gen. Grant had defeated Bragg in Tennessee capturing several pieces of artillery and a number of prisoners.

(Note. This is a report of Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, November 25, 1863.)

It has been a fine Thanksgiving Day. If anyone has failed to enjoy himself, it has been his own fault. Peer and I finished the chicken for supper.

(*to be continued*)

NEW MEMBERS

The following new members are announced by the Membership Committee:

William C. Anderson, New Brunswick
Richard A. Brown, Irvington
Frederick J. Christopher, Brooklyn, N.Y.
George J. Deyo, Elizabeth
Mrs. Elsbeth B. Dusenbery, Montclair
John F. Dusenbery, Montclair
Miss Irene B. Flavelle, West Orange
Walter K. Frankel, M.D., Newark
Nicholas N. Heyman, Millburn
George Keenan, East Orange
James Kerney, Jr., Trenton
Mrs. Catherine C. Kitchin, Ashland, Ky.
Mrs. Thomas H. Letson, Portland, Me.
Clifford C. Menger, North Bergen

Barton S. Pauley, Short Hills
Mrs. Mary M. P. Root, Upper Montclair
Gordon B. Turner, Princeton
Mrs. Elizabeth C. D. Vann, Englewod
Miss Jeanne Van Ness, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Dr. McIver Woody, Elizabeth

NECROLOGY OF MEMBERS

Edward Harris Lum, Newark real estate and insurance man, died September 8, 1951, at his home in Chatham at the age of 94.

Mr. Lum was born in Chatham, the son of Harvey M. and Phoebe Jane Bruen Lum. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1880 in the class with Theodore Roosevelt and at the time of his death was its second oldest living alumnus. He started work in the law department of R. G. Dun & Co., in New York City, later opening his own real estate and insurance agency in Newark.

He was an elder in the Ogden Memorial Presbyterian Church in Chatham for more than fifty years. He was a member of the Harvard Club of New Jersey, the Genealogical Society of New Jersey, of which he was at one time corresponding secretary, the Washington Association of Morristown, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Summit Old Guard, and the Chatham Fish and Game Protective Association.

Mr. Lum's first wife, the former Annie Torrey, of Madison, died in 1892. He and his second wife, the late Katherine Woodruff Lum, celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in 1945. He leaves two sons, Merritt, of Chicago, and Richard, of Chatham, five grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Mr. Lum became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society November 3, 1900.

Hervey S. Vassar, an electrical engineer for the Public Service Electric and Gas Company and head of its testing laboratory from 1911 until his retirement in 1947, died at his

home in Bloomfield, August 31, 1951, after a long illness. He was 73 years old.

Related to Matthew Vassar, founder of Vassar College, Mr. Vassar was born in Flemington, N.J., son of the late Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Vassar, a Baptist minister, and of the late Mrs. Tamma G. Sackel.

In 1903, Mr. Vassar was graduated from Pratt Institute, Brooklyn. He went to work for the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, predecessor to the electric and gas company, and soon became head of the testing laboratory.

Mr. Vassar was instrumental in planning the company's laboratory in Maplewood, which was completed in 1942. He had served on the advisory council of Pratt Institute, was the first president of the Bloomfield Recreation Commission and former chairman of the Bloomfield Chapter of the Red Cross. He also was a trustee and past president of the World War Memorial Association here and a trustee of the Bloomfield League for Friendly Service. In 1939-44, he was president of the Bloomfield Community Chest.

Mr. Vassar was a trustee and charter member of the Central Church of Bloomfield and East Orange, and a trustee and chairman of the house and grounds committee of the Mountainside Hospital, Montclair, N.J.

In 1945 the Veterans of Foreign Wars named Mr. Vassar Bloomfield's "outstanding citizen."

Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Helen Provost Vassar; two sons, Hervey P. of Plainfield, N.J., and Thomas E. of Louisville, Ky.; a daughter, Miss Eunice Vassar of New York, and a sister, Mrs. Anvenette Morton of Bloomfield.

Mr. Vassar became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society February 9, 1938.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.: *New Jersey Almanac* 1822, 1828, 1829; *New Jersey and Pennsylvania Almanac,* 1820; *The Christian Almanac,* 1827; numbers of the *True American,* 1803-1807.

Chester Baylis, Dover: Collection of old newspapers covering important events, 1858-1901; Historical magazines.

Moses Bigelow, Newark: Collection of books including *Princeton Portraits* by Donald D. Egbert, 1947; *History of Bucks County,* Pa. 1876.

Samuel Ward Boardman, Jr. Clayton: His brochure, *From Then to Now—A History of Cedar Grove.*

Samuel Butterworth, Glen Ridge: *Captain John Fowler of Virginia and Kentucky.* 1942; *Retrospect of Western Travel,* by Harriet Martineau 2 vols.; Collection of automobile year books, maps, etc.

Mrs. Charles A. Christian, East Orange: Old deeds of Woodbridge, New Jersey, Books.

Rev. Herbert G. Coddington, Syracuse, N.Y.: Notes and clippings on the Coddington family, including two copies of his compilation on that family; *The General Convention Offices and Officers,* 1785-1950. (Protestant Episcopal Church).

Miss May A. Colon, Livingston: *Report of the Commissioner of Patents* 1855, containing a list of patents issued to her grandfather, George W. Stedman of Vienna, New Jersey, on sewing machine.

Mrs. Thomas Turner Cooke, Morristown: Annual report of *The Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.* 1950.

David L. Cowen, New Brunswick: Reprint of his article, *The Edinburgh Dispensatories.* Bibliographical Society of America, 1951.

C. S. Crane, New York City: Eighteen books on New Jersey and New England history and genealogy.

Hiram E. Deats, Flemington: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society of England, *The Library,* May 1948-Dec. 1950.

Eric E. Eastwood, Pittsburg, Pa.: *The Worden Family, An Account of some of the Descendants of Peter Worden of Yarmouth, Massachusetts.* 1951.

Dr. Joseph E. Fields, Joliet, Ill.: *The Known Signatures of Button Gwinnett* by Dr. Fields; *The Signers Lived Here,* by Elizabeth Fields and Dr. J. E. Fields.

The Flemington National Bank & Trust Co., Flemington: *75th Anniversary,* 1876-1951. A brief history of the bank and region for 75 years.

Genealogical Society of New Jersey, Newark: Collection of old deeds of south New Jersey, especially of Salem County.

F. F. Haacker, New York City: *History of the Great Iron Chain* and *Bannerman Island,* two pamphlets by Francis Bannerman.

Arthur Harris, Llandudio, Wales: Three numbers of *Interesting Items,* Britain's oldest amateur magazine.

Miss Helen Kilbourne, East Orange: Copy of the Crawford family coat-of-arms. Framed.

Miss May Axford Martin, (estate of) Collection of books by John Greenleaf Whittier, one copy autographed.

Miss Ottilie Mertz and August Mertz, Denville: *The Long Path,* by Miss Elsie Mertz. Published as a memorial to the author after her death.

George Meyers, Glen Ridge: *Newark, New Jersey, Illustrated.* 1891.

Joseph O. Osgood, New York City: Collection of railroad pamphlets.

Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, Brooklyn, N.Y.: *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of his Library,* by Henry Stevens, *Revised and Elucidated* by Victor Hugo Paltsits. 1951.

Miss Mary Philbrook, Tenafly: Photostat copy of a petition of the inhabitants of Newark, New Jersey to Sir Edmund Andros to appoint Thomas Johnson a Justice of the Peace.

Arthur W. Pierson, Westfield: His compilation, *Genealogy of our Ancestors in the Pierson, Marsh, Clark and Baker Families.* Revised ed. 1951.

William Y. Pryor, Verona: Subject index of the Magazine of the Genealogical Society of New Jersey. Vols. 1-23. Mss.

Fred H. Shaver, Grand Rapids, Iowa. *Frederick Shaver, Rhineland, Germany* 1747, *Sussex County, New Jersey,* 1823, *and his Descendants.*

Mrs. R. Spreen, Nutley: *Atlas of the City of Newark,* by A. H. Mueller, 1911-1912, 2 vols.

Mr. and Mrs. W. Clark Symington, Newark: Collection of books including Harper's *Encyclopedia of United States History,* 10 vols.; *The Home in Good Taste,* by Elsie de Wolfe, 1913; Numerous volumes of class records of Princeton University; *The American Geography,* by Jedidiah Morse, with three Filson maps, London 1794.

Mrs. H. L. Taylor, Montclair: Collection of pamphlets including six volumes of the *Connecticut Magazine,* 1902-1908; John L. Stoddard's Travel Series, 10 vols.

William E. Townley, Elizabeth: *St. John's Register,* Elizabeth, N.J. Vol. 1, No. 1. November 19, 1950.

Mrs. Elizabeth C Denny Vann, Englewood: Collection of books, pamphlets, photographs compiled by and relating to the work of the New Jersey Writer's Project, WPA.

Miss Louise M. Velton, Rahway: *Bloomfield Old and New,* 1912.

Walter F. Wiles, Glen Ridge: Two Bibles containing records of the Moore, Fralkins and Littell families.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM

(April-August)

Mrs. J. Harman-Ashley, West Orange; 19th century melodeon.

Mr. Moses Bigelow, Newark; Rush bottom maple side chair from the home of Jotham Johnson of Newark.

Mrs. G. Gilbert Brown, Newark: A set of trousseau lingerie.

Mrs. Samuel Butterworth, Glen Ridge: Lace table cover cloth, 1800.

Mrs. May A. Colon, Livingston: George Stedman's sewing machine patented 1855.

Mrs. Oscar H. Cushwa, Caldwell: Pair of Black silk mitts; Doll's China tea set.

Ella Taylor Cox Henkel, Newark: Miniature of Catherine Fitz-Randolph Smith, her great grand aunt.

Mrs. William F. Hoen, East Northfield, Mass.: White doll's dress.

Mrs. Katherine M. Hunter, Berkeley Springs, West Va.:

Women's shoes, 19th century; 2 silver spoons.

Mrs. Helen Kilbourne, Orange: Collection of old caps; copy of Crawford coat of arms.

Mr. W. A. Lucas, Hawthorne, N.J.: Masonic ceremonial apron.

Miss Reignette Marsh, N. Plainfield: American flag used in the 1876 centennial celebration.

Mrs. F. M. Lehlbach, Newark: Planchette board used by John Greenleaf Whittier; silver spoon used by Whittier.

Mrs. Belle L. Meeker, Newark: Linen tablecloth woven in 1799; Civil War mess kit; china faced silver watch.

Mrs. Ninetta D. McGovern, Hoboken; Nightcap of the wife of Josiah Hornblower; white silk dress c. 1890; bonnet, belonged to Vreeland family.

Miss Ella Northup, Bloomfield 2 house dresses, 19th century.

Miss Mary E. Sayre, East Orange: Doll, c. 1878 with dresses and accessories.

Miss Antoinette Scudder, Millburn: German emblem of World War I.

Mrs. William Speer, Montclair: Red Cross canteen uniform, World War I.

Mrs. Robert B. Stoutenburg, Montclair: Wedding dress and fan c. 1908.

Mrs. W. Clark Symington, Newark; Agate matchbox, belonged to R. B. Symington, c. 1880. Metal matchbox, same owner as above; pair of gold tipped earrings, American Legion pin, old victrola key.

Mr. and Mrs. W. Clark Symington, Newark: Men's jewelry—cuff bottons, cufflinks, studs, tie ring.

The Pennsylvania Railroad: Model of Pennsylvania R. R. steam engine, c. 1885 and tender. Model of 20th century electric engine and tender.

Dr. Morton M. Stern, Newark: Stone block bearing names of the "committee on public markets," Newark, 1908.

Miss Gertrude O. Tubby, Montclair: Writing desk, c. 1820; samples, 1830; painting done in 1891, chess set, lamp-screen, and other items.

Mr. Ogden Brower, Montclair: Anvil, blacksmith's tools, and products.